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A

TOUR

IN

WALES.

MDCC LXXIII.

DUBLIN:

Printed for Meſſrs. SLEATER, POTTS, MONCRIEFFE, WALKER, EXSHAW, FLIN, BURNET, JENKIN, WHITE and BEATTY.

M,DCC,LXXIX.

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A

TOUR

WALES.

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Walker, Exshaw, Flin, Burnet,
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M,DCC,LXXIX.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE home-travels are the firſt part of an account of my own country; and were actually performed in the year mentioned in the title page. The world juſtly loves the reality; therefore, this is mentioned to ſatisfy the public, that they are not formed out of tours undertaken at different periods.

Theſe make of themſelves a complete tour of the tamer parts of our country. In a future volume, the wild and romantic ſcenery will be preſented, intermixed with the rich vallies ſo frequently interſperſed. To this will be added an Appendix, containing the ſubjects referred to in this volume, with variety of other matter. I implore the aid of my country-

men to aſſiſt me in the attempt; and to favour me with the neceſſary materials. They will ſee, that great part of *Denbighſhire*, and all parts of the four remaining counties of our principality, are ſtill to be deſcribed. My frequent journies through them, render me a tolerable maſter of their topography. I look up to my friends for hiſtory and anecdote latent among their papers; or reference to our writers, leſt any facts lodged in books might eſcape my memory.

Among the gentlemen I am chiefly indebted to for information reſpecting the preſent work, I cannot paſs unthanked:

PHILIP YORKE Eſq; of *Erddig*;

JOHN MYTTON Eſq; of *Halſton*;

THOMAS MOSTYN Eſq; of the houſe of *Trelacre*;

PETER DAVIES Eſq; of *Broughton*;

KENRICK

KENRICK EYTON Eſq; of *Eyton*;
PAUL PANTON Eſq; of *Bagilt*;
LLOYD KENYON Eſq; of *Greddington*;
Mr. ROGER KENYON of *Cefn*;

To RICHARD WILLIAMS Eſq; of *Vron*, I am highly obliged for his poetical tranſlations, marked R. W. and for the elegant verſion of the ode on *Owen Glyndwr*, to which that mark is omitted.

To RICHARD MORRIS Eſq; of the navy office, I owe much general information; and am particularly indebted to him for the correction of the preſs. Mr. HAWKER of the cuſtom houſe *Cheſter*, favoured me with a particular account of the commerce of that city.

The reverend Mr. EDWARDS, rector of *Llanvechan*, favoured me with ſome excellent

cellent accounts of the parishes of *Oswestry*, *Sellatyn*, and *Hope*.

I received several historical facts respecting the parish of *Whittington*, from the reverend Mr. ROBERTS, rector of the parish.

The reverend Mr. JOHN PRICE, public librarian, and the reverend Mr. JOHN JONES, fellow of *Jesus* college *Oxford*, were indefatigable in furnishing me with extracts from the manuscripts of the university.

As due, I must repeat my thanks to the reverend Mr. JOHN LLOYD, rector of *Nnanerch*, my constant companion in these excursions, for variety of information, which his great knowledge of our antient language qualified him to do, to my singular advantage.

Mr.

Mr. WILKINSON, painter in *Cheſter*, obliged me with many materials relative to that city.

To Mr. CALVELY land ſurveyor of the ſame city, I owe ſome elegant plans, which will appeear in a future volume.

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Mr. WILKINSON, painter in Chester, obliged me with many materials relative to that city.

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THE

TOUR

IN

NORTH-WALES,

MDCCLXXIII.

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I NOW ſpeak of my native country, celebrated in our earlieſt hiſtory for its valour and tenacity of its liberty; for the ſtand it made againſt the *Romans*; for its ſlaughter of the legions *; and for the ſubjection of the nation by *Agricola*, who did not dare to attempt his *Caledonian* expedition, and leave behind him unconquered ſo tremendous an enemy.

When our firſt invaders landed in *Great Britain*, *North Wales* was poſſeſſed by the *Ordovices*, a name derived from the language of the country, ſignifying the ſituation; being almoſt entirely bounded by the river *Deva*, or the modern *Dee*, and another river of the name of *Dyvi* †. The one flows into the *Iriſh* ſea below *Cheſter*, the other into the ſame ſea on the borders of *Cardiganſhire*.

The ſpirit which the people ſhewed at the beginning, did not deſert them to the laſt. Notwithſtanding they were obliged to ſubmit to the reſiſtleſs power of the *Romans*, they ne-

* *Vita Agricolæ.* † Mr. *Llwyd* in *Cambden* II. 778.

ver fell a prey to the enervating charms of luxury, as the other nations of this iſland did. They never, with womaniſh invocations, requeſted the aid of the deſerting conquerors, or ſunk beneath the preſſure of the new invaders; they preſerved an undaunted courage amidſt their native rocks, and received among them the gallant fugitives, happy in congenial ſouls. The hardy *Saxons*, for above three centuries, could not make an impreſſion even on our low lands. *Offa* was the firſt; who extended his kingdom for ſome miles within our borders. His conqueſt was but temporary; for we poſſeſſed *Cheſter*, the capital of the *Cornavii*, till the year 883, when it was wreſted from us by the united force of the Heptarchy beneath the able *Egbert*. This indeed reduced our confines; but did not ſubdue our ſpirit. With obdurate valour we ſuſtained our independency for another four centuries, againſt the power of a kingdom more than twelve times larger than itſelf: and at length had the glory of falling, when a divided country, beneath the arms of the moſt wiſe, and moſt warlike of the *Engliſh* monarchs.

Flintſhire I naturally begin my journey from the place of my nativity, *Downing* in the county of *Flint*. To give a general idea of this ſhire, the reader muſt learn, that it is leaſt of the twelve *Welſh*. Its northern ſide is waſhed by the eſtuary of the *Dee*, the *Seteia Eſtuarium* of *Ptolemy*. The land riſes ſuddenly from the ſhore in fine inequalities, clayey, and plenteous in corn and graſs, for two, three or four miles, to a mountainous tract that runs parallel to it for a conſiderable way.

The

The lower part is divided by picturesque dingles, which run from the mountains, and open to the sea, filled with oaks. The inferior parts abound with coal and freestone; the upper with minerals of lead and calamine, and immense strata of limestone and chert. The principal trade of the country is mining and smelting.

The northern part of the county is flat, and very rich in corn, especially wheat, which is generally exported to *Liverpool*. The shire, in most places, raises more than is sufficient for the use of the inhabitants. It is extremely populous; and in the mineral parts composed of a mixed people, whose fathers and grandfathers had resorted here for sake of employ out of the *English* mine counties; many of whose children, born of *Welsh* mothers, have quite lost the language of their fathers.

A lofty range of mountains rise on the west, and form a bold frontier. Our county is watered by several small rivers; such as the *Alun*, the *Terrig*, and the *Wheeler*; part of its western boundary by the *Clwyd*; and *Maelor*, a disjoined part of the country, by the *Dee*.

We are ignorant of the classical name of this little province. The *Ordovices*, of which all west of *Cheshire* was part, were subdivided in the time of the *Romans*, in all probability, as the rest of the country was. They had *Reguli* or Lords who ruled over little districts, and united under a common leader when the exigencies of the time required. These factions weakened the state, separated their interest, and facilitated their conquest by the first invaders.

The names of these districts are now unknown. *Gwynedd* is the most ancient we are acquainted with for the country of *North Wales*. The portion I inhabit was called *Tegangle*, which comprehends the three modern hundreds of *Coleshill*, *Prestatyn*, and *Rhudland*. The name is preserved in the mountainous parts of this parish, and some others, to this day called *Minydd Tegang*. I reject the translation of *Tegegl* into *Fair England*, as a mongrel compound. The word is of a much more ancient date; it being derived from *Cangi* or *Ceangi*, a set of people, according to the learned *Baxter*, belonging to every *British* nation; who attended the herds and resided with them in different grazing grounds at different times of the year. The neighbouring *Cornavii* had their *Ceangi*, who wintered in *Wiral*, and took their summer residence in *Tegegl*; a word to be properly derived on that account from *Teg*, fair, *Cang*, the name of the people, and *Lle*, a place. To corroborate which, at this very day is a plain in the parish of *Caerwys*, a part of the old *Tegangle*, adjoining to this mountain, that still retains the title of *Maes can havod*, or the plain of the hundred summer residences. For this reason I presume to differ from Mr. *Baxter*, in his notion of the summer residence of these *Cangi*. He places it near the *Canganorum Promontorium*, or *Braich y pwll* head in *Caernarvonshire*, but those were the *Cangi* of the *Ordovices*, these of the *Cornavii*.

It may be remarked, that, contrary to what happens to most subdued nations, our country preserved its own language: and the conquerors even deigned to adopt the names of the *British* towns and people, latinizing them from the

the original words. Thus *Londinium* from LUNDEIN, *i. e.* LLONG DIN OR DINAS, *the city of ſhips* *; from its conſiderable commerce; DEVA from its ſituation on the river *Deva* †; DUNMONII from *Dunmwyn*, or *the hill of ore*; BRIGANTES from *Brig*, choice or chief men; *Coritani*, or rather *Coitani*, from *Coed*, a wood ‡. On the retreat of their *Roman* maſters, the latinized names were dropt, except in a very few inſtances, and their own reſumed; but the reſt of the *Britons*, who ſubmitted to the *Saxon* yoke, univerſally received with it the names of places from their conquerors.

The whole of *Flintſhire* was ſubdued by the *Saxons* immediately after the taking of *Cheſter* by *Egbert*. It was an open country, deſtitute of inacceſſible rocks and mountains, like the reſt of *North Wales*; and conſequently incapable of defence againſt ſo potent an enemy. The conquerors, as uſual, new-named the towns, villages, and hamlets; but could not cancel the ancient. Thus *Hawarden* ſtill is known to the *Welſh* by the name of *Pennardd Lâg*, or *Halawg*; *Mold* by that of *Wyddgryg*; and *Hope* by that of *Eſtyn*; which (with the continuance of our language to this day) proves that even at that time it mixed but little with our conquerors. Numbers of *Saxons* were ſettled among us, who held their lands from the *Mercian* governors or earls: we find in the Doomſday book many of their names who had poſſeſſions in this tract, ſuch as *Ulbert*, *Oſmer*, and *Elmer*.

The firſt notion of any ſub-diviſion of the tract called *Flintſhire*, appears in the *Doomſday* book. When that ſurvey was taken, it was made

Doomſday Book.

* *Cambden* I. 370. † Or *Dyſi*. ‡ Mr. *Pegge*.

made a part of *Cheſhire*, to which it was conſidered as an appendage, by conqueſt. Old records affirm, that *the county of* FLINT *appertaineth to the dignity of the ſword of* CHESTER. It was ſoon ſubdued by *Robert de Rathelent*, commander in chief under *Hugh Lupus*, who carried his arms far into *Wales*: and ſecured his conqueſts in the marches by building, or rather by adding new works to the caſtle of *Rhudland*, which he had wreſted from one of our princes.

The tract from *Cheſter* to the *Clwyd* was then conſidered as a hundred of *Cheſhire*, and called in the Doomſday Book *Atiſcros* hundred. Numbers of places ſtill exiſting are mentioned in it, diſguiſed often by the *Norman* ſpelling. *Whiteford*, the place in queſtion, is called *Widford*: notice is alſo taken of ſome of the preſent townſhips, ſuch as *Tre-moſtyn*, *Tre-bychton*, and *Merton*, under the names of *Moſtone*, *Widford*, *Putecaine*, and *Meretone*. MOSTONE was then a *plough-land*, *terra unius Caruce*. It had on it four villeyns and eight boors; (*Bordarii* *,) a wood a league long, and forty perches, *perticatæ*, broad, and was valued at twenty ſhillings.

WIDFORD is joined ith *Putecaine*: The firſt ſeemsto have comprehended our preſent *Trelan*, or the place where the church-village now ſtands. Theſe had one plough-land, two villeyns, and twelve others between men and maid ſervants, fiſheries, and a wood half a league long and forty perches broad; the value was the ſame with that of *Moſtone*.

With *Meretone* is joined the third part of *Widford*; and the *Berewicha* or hamlet of *Caldecote*,

* *Borda* ſignifies a cottage, with a ſmall piece of land annexed, held by the ſervice of finding for the lord, poultry, eggs, &c. for his *bwrdd*, or table,

cote, the laſt at preſent a townſhip of the pariſh of *Holywell*. In this diviſion was a preſbyter, a church, and ſix villeyns. Here was a wood half a league long and twenty perches broad. One *Odin* held theſe of the earl.

At the time of the conqueſt, all this tract of *Flintſhire*, which was called by the *Saxons Engleſield*, and afterwards by the *Normans Atiſcros*, was in poſſeſſion of *Edwin*, the laſt Earl of *Mercia*; and on his defeat and forfeiture, beſtowed, with the earldom of *Cheſter*, on *Hugh Lupus*. The whole was in a manner depopulated and reduced to a waſte, I imagine by the two inroads made into thoſe parts by *Harold*, at the command of *Edward* the confeſſor, to revenge on *Griffith ap Lhewelyn* the inſult offered him, by giving protection to *Algar*, one of his rebellious ſubjects *.

It is obſervable, that there were only ſeven churches at that time in the whole hundred; 1. *Haordine*, the preſent *Hawarden*; 2. *Widford*; 3. *Biſſard*, *Boteuuaral*, and *Ruagor*; 4. *Iugleeroft*, *Brunfor*, and *Alchene*; 5. *Danfrond*, *Calſton*, and *Weſbie*; 6. *Preſtetone* and *Rueſtoch*; and finally, the 7th at *Roelend*; beſides one that lay waſte at *Cancarnacan* and *Wheneſcol*. Parochial diviſions had not yet taken place. Mr. *Agard* †, a writer in the latter end of the ſixteenth century, remarks, that the old hiſtorians make no mention of either pariſhes, parſons, vicars, incumbents, or curates. The people attended, in thoſe days, either the cathedral churches, or the conventual; which were ſerved by the prelates or monks, and thoſe often aſſiſted by preſbyters, clerks, and deacons. As piety gained ſtrength,

* *Powell*, 100. † Antiquary Diſcourſes, I. 194.

ſtrength, other churches, for the conveniency of the devout, were erected by the nobility and men of property, who were deſirous of ſpiritual aſſiſtance within their precincts; and to this were owing the churches, which, at the period in queſtion, were ſo ſparingly ſcattered over the land. The places which enjoyed this advantage had the title of *Lhan* prefixed; as that of *Tre*, which ſignifies primitively a habitation, is to the townſhips.

Tre-Moſtyn. Thus in our pariſh is *Tre-moſtyn*, remarkable for the ancient ſeat of the family of the ſame name, which acquired it by the marriage of *Jevan Vychan* with *Angharad*, heireſs of *Howel ap Ithel Vychan* of *Moſtyn*, in the reign of *Richard* II. The great gloomy hall is of very old date, furniſhed with the high *Dais*, or elevated upper end, and its long table for the lord and his jovial companions; and another in the ſide, the ſeat of the inferior partakers of the good cheer. The walls are furniſhed, in a ſuitable manner, with ancient militia guns, ſwords, and pikes; with helmets and breaſt plates; with funeral atchievements; and with variety of ſpoils of the chace. A falcon is nailed againſt the upper end of the room, with two bells hung to each foot. With theſe incumbrances it flew from its owner, a gentleman in the county of *Angus*, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of *September* 1772, and was killed near this houſe on the morning of the twenty-ſixth. The preciſe time it reached our country is not known; therefore we are uncertain whether this bird exceeded in ſwiftneſs the hawk which flew thirty miles in an hour in purſuit of a woodcock; or that which made a flight out of *Weſtphalia* into

Pruſſia

Pruſſia in a day: inſtances recorded * by the learned Sir *Thomas Brown*. The adjacent kitchen is overlooked by a gallery leading to the ancient apartments of the lady of the houſe, at a period when the odours of the pot and ſpit were thought no ill ſavours. At one end of the gallery is a great room, remarkable for a ſingular event. During the time that *Henry* earl of *Richmond* was ſecretly laying the foundation of the overthrow of the houſe of *York*, he paſſed concealed from place to place, in order to form an intereſt among the *Welſh*, who favoured his cauſe on account of their reſpect to his grandfather *Owen Tudor*, their countryman. While he was at *Moſtyn*, a party attached to *Richard* III. arrived there to apprehend him. He was then about to dine; but had juſt time to leap out of a back window, and make his eſcape through a hole, which to this day is called the *King*'s. *Richard ap Howel*, then lord of *Moſtyn*, joined *Henry* at the battle of *Boſworth*, and after the victory received from the King, intoken of gratitude for his preſervation, the belt and ſword he wore on the day: he alſo preſſed *Richard* greatly to follow him to court; but he nobly anſwered, like the *Shunamitiſh* widow, *I dwell among mine own people*. The ſword and belt were preſerved in the houſe till within theſe few years. It is obſervable, that none of our hiſtorians account for a certain period of *Henry*'s life, previous to his acceſſion. It is very evident, that he paſſed the times, when he diſappeared from *Bretagny*, in *Wales*. Many cotemporary bards, by feigned names, record this part of his life, under thoſe of the LION, the EAGLE, and the like, which were to reſtore the

* Miſcellany Tracts, Tr. V. p. 38.

the empire to the *Britons:* for the inſpired favourers of the houſe of *Lancaſter* did not dare to deliver their verſes in other than terms allegorical, for fear of the reigning prince.

There is little more remarkable about the houſe than what is common to others built at different times. Here are two remarkable portraits; one of Sir *Roger Moſtyn*, knight, with a white beard and locks, in black, with great breeches ſtuck round the waiſt-band with points. This piece of magnificence gave riſe to a very coarſe proverb, applied to inferior people ambitious of acting beyond their ſtation. The other portrait is of his Lady, *Mary*, eldeſt daughter of Sir *John Wynne* of *Gwedir*, baronet. Both are full lengths, dated 1634, and I think painted by *Mytens*.

Here is another picture, not leſs remarkable for its ridiculous compoſition, than for the diſtinguiſhed perſon painted in it. A kit-cat length of Sir *Roger Moſtyn*, the firſt baronet; in a ſtrange long flaxen wig, a breaſt-plate, buff ſkirts, and antique *Roman* ſleeves; a black holding his helmet; his lady reading, with one hand on a ſkull; and by her huſband a lap-dog. This gentleman was the moſt eminent loyaliſt of our county: raiſed a regiment in ſupport of the crown, conſiſting of fifteen hundred men, in twelve hours time *, moſtly colliers; and garriſoned his houſe, which, in *September* 1643, was ſurrendered to the parliamentary forces, with four pieces of cannon and ſome arms †.

Buſts. The buſts collected in *Italy* deſerve mention. That of the elder *Brutus* is particularly fine, as if formed in the inſtant that the love of his country

* *Whitelocke*, 78. † Ibid.

country got the better of his paternal affection; when with a ſteady voice he was delivering to the lictors his *Titus* and *Tiberius*, to receive the reward of their treaſons.

A BEAUTIFUL head of a young faun in a *Phrygian* bonnet.

A FINE head of one of the *Cornelii*. An *Homer*, and an *Hippocrates*. A *Seleucus*, with two wings faſtened to an imperial diadem; ſymbols of diſpatch and expedition. Two buſts in brown alabaſter of a male and female faun, with the *flammeum* on their heads: both are of hideous deformity; but well executed. Here are beſides a few ſmall monumental marbles, with inſcriptions, which the antiquarian reader may find in the Appendix.

In the Library is a moſt elegant collection of the claſſics, containing variety of the moſt ancient and rare editions; a numerous collection of books relating to the *Greek* and *Roman* antiquities, eſpecially thoſe which comprehend the medallic hiſtory; variety of manuſcripts, moſtly on vellum, and many of them richly illuminated. In a few words, ſcarce any private library can boaſt of ſo valuable an aſſemblage; which remain indiſputable evidences of the taſte and judgment of that excellent man, its accompliſhed founder, the late Sir THOMAS MOSTYN. Library.

The family are beſides poſſeſſed of other valuable antiquities; ſuch as the cake of copper at *Caer-bên* in *Caernarvonſhire*; the *Torques* *, diſcovered near *Harlech*; and the ſilver harp which the family had the power of beſtowing on the moſt ſkilful minſtrel, rythmer, or bard, at the

* This very curious antiquity is engraven in the Appendix, with the account drawn up by my learned countryman *Llwyd*.

the *Eiſteddfod*, or aſſembly held for trials of their ſeveral merits. Each of theſe ſhall be ſpoken of in their proper places.

Before I quit the houſe, I muſt take notice, that *Thomas ap Richard ap Howel ap Jevan Vychan*, Lord of *Moſtyn*, and his brother *Piers*, founder of the family of *Trelacre*, were the firſt that abridged their name; and that on the following occaſion. *Rowland Lee*, biſhop of *Lichfield*, and preſident of the marches of *Wales*, in the reign of *Henry* VIII. ſat at one of the courts on a *Welſh* cauſe, and, wearied with the quantity of *aps* in the jury, directed that the panel ſhould aſſume their laſt name, or that of their reſidence; and that *Thomas ap Richard ap Howel ap Jevan Vychan*, ſhould for the future be reduced to the poor diſſyllable *Moſtyn*; no doubt to the great mortification of many an ancient line.

Maen Achwynfan.

In the higher part of this townſhip ſtands the curious croſs called MAEN ACHWYNFAN, or *the ſtone of lamentation*; becauſe penances were often finiſhed before ſuch ſacred pillars, and concluded with weeping and the uſual marks of contrition: for an example, near *Stafford* ſtood one called the *weeping croſs*, a name analogous to ours. This is of on elegant form and ſculpture: is twelve feet high, two feet four inches broad at the bottom, and ten inches thick. The baſe is let into another ſtone. The top is round, and includes, in raiſed work, the form of a *Greek* croſs: beneath, about the middle, is another in the form of St. *Andrew*'s: and under that, a naked figure, with a ſpear in its hand. Cloſe to that, on the ſide of the column, is repreſented ſome animal. The reſt is covered with very beautiful fret-work, like what may be

be ſeen on other pillars of ancient date in ſeveral parts of *Great Britain*. I do not preſume (after the annotator on *Cambden* had given up the point) to attempt a gueſs at the age. Only muſt obſerve, that it muſt have been previous to the reign of groſs ſuperſtition among the *Welſh*, otherwiſe the ſculptor muſt have employed his chizzel in ſtriking out legendary ſtories, inſtead of the elegant knots and interlaced work that cover the ſtone.

Thoſe, who ſuppoſe it to have been erected in memory of the dead ſlain in battle on the ſpot, draw their argument from the number of adjacent *tumuli*, containing human bones, and ſculls often marked with mortal wounds; but theſe earthy ſepulchres are of more ancient times than the elegant ſculpture of this pillar will admit. This likewiſe (from the croſſes) is evidently a Chriſtian monument. The former were only in uſe in Pagan days.

There are likewiſe, near to it, an ancient chapel, now a farm-houſe, called *Gelli*, the name of an adjacent tract. This might have relation to the croſs: as well as a place for performance of divine ſervice to the abbot of *Baſingwerk*, who had a houſe at no great diſtance, in one of our townſhips ſtill called *Trê-r-abbot*, or the abbot's habitation. This tract miſ-ſpelt by the *Engliſh*, *Getely* †,) with the wood (at that time on it) was granted by *Edward* I. to the abbot and convent, on the tenth of *November*, at *Weſtminſter*, before the death of our laſt prince. He alſo gave him power to grub up the wood, which, by the preſent nakedneſs of the place, appears to have been done effectually. Gelli.

From the ſummit of *Garreg*, a hill in this pariſh, the traveller may have an auguſt foreſight of

† *Ayloff*'s, Rotuli Walliæ, 64, 72, 95.

of the lofty tract of *Snowdon*, from the crooked *Moel Shabog* at one end, to the towering *Penmaen-mawr* at the other: of the vaſt promontory of *Llandudno*, and part of the iſle of *Angleſea*, with the great bay of *Llanddulas*, forming a vaſt creſcent; the eſtuaries of *Dee* and the *Merſey*: and to the north (at times) the iſle of *Man* and the *Cumberland Alps*, the ſure preſages of bad weather.

Tre-Bychton. I will deſcend now to *Tre-Bychton*, another of our maritime townſhips, where ſtands my paternal houſe, attended (with what was very frequent in our principality) a ſummer-houſe, at a very ſmall diſtance, and a cellar beneath; uſed as a retreat for the jolly owners and their friends, to enjoy, remote from the fair, their toaſts and noiſy merriment. This, and the other lower parts of the pariſh, are finely wooded with oaks; which grow ſo ſpontaneouſly, that, was the place depopulated, it would in a very few years relapſe into an impenetrable foreſt.

In *Tre-lan* is the pariſh-church, dedicated to Saint *Mary*. The rectory is a ſinecure, which, with the vicarage, is in the gift of the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*. The church, I imagine, retains the ancient ſite it had at the time of the conqueſt. The preſent building conſiſts of a nave and one aile. The laſt was built by a *Blethyn Drow*, of the houſe of *Moſtyn*, to whom that part belongs.

Merton. The two *Mertons*, *Uch-glan* and *Iſglan*, are adjacent townſhips. In the reign of *Edward* I. (before his conqueſt) the lands of the men of *Merton*, to the amount of ſixteen ploughlands, were taken from them, and beſtowed on the abbot and convent of *Baſingwerk*, againſt the laws of *Wales*, and the cuſtom of the country;

try; and contrary to the peace between the King and Prince *Lhewelyn**. This violent act was done by *Reginald de Grey*†, juſtice of *Cheſter*, probably by connivance of the King, to provoke the *Welſh* to commit ſome outrage that would give colour to the *Engliſh* to break the truce.

Folebroc, or *Feilebroc*, belonged to the monks of *Baſingwerk*: and is mentioned in the confirmation of the grants to that convent by *Henry* II. and again in the charters renewed to it by *Lhewelyn ap Jorwerth*, and *David ap Lhewelyn*, princes of *North Wales*. The monks had a grange on it, and right of paſturage on the mountain, in common with neighbouring inhabitants‡. Folebroc.

The products of this pariſh are corn of every ſort excepting rye. Little cheeſe or butter is made here for ſale, as the graſs is chiefly conſumed by horſes; for the farmers are greatly employed in carrying the minerals of the country: the ſame may be ſaid of the ſhire in general. Every cottager has his potatoe garden, which is a great ſupport to them; and was a conveniency unknown fifty years ago. The lower parts are well wooded; and much timber is at times ſold to *Leverpool* and other places, at good prices; much is alſo uſed at home in the mines.

The collieries of *Moſtyn* and *Bychton* have been worked for a very conſiderable ſpace; and in the laſt century ſupplied *Dublin* and the eaſtern ſide of *Ireland* with coal. They are at preſent but in a low ſtate; partly from the riſe of the works at *Whitehaven*, but more from the loſs of the channel of the *Dee*; which in the beginning of this century flowed ſo cloſe to our Coal.

* *Powel*, 360. † *Dugdale's Baron.* I. 713.
‡ *Dugdale's Monaſt.* I. 720, 721.

our ſhore, that ſhips of two hundred tons lay under this pariſh, with their cables twiſted round the trees. At this time veſſels of ſixty or ſeventy cannot approach nearer than two miles, the *Dee* now flowing under the oppoſite ſhore. Still we load a few veſſels for *Ireland* and ſome parts of *North Wales*. Much is alſo conſumed by the neighbouring ſmelting-houſes, and the inland parts of *Denbighſhire*. The improvements of land by lime has of late occaſioned a great conſumption of coal by the farmer, and by the perſons who burn it for ſale.

The coal is of different thickneſs, from three quarters to five yards. The beds dip from one yard in four to two in three. They immerge beneath the eſtuary of the *Dee*; are diſcovered again on the ſouth ſide of *Wiral* in *Cheſhire*, as if correſponding with ſome of the *Flintſhire:* they remain as yet loſt, on the northern part of the ſame hundred; but are found a third time in vaſt quantities in *Lancaſhire*, on the oppoſite ſide of the *Merſey*. Their extent from weſt to eaſt, in this county, may be reckoned from the pariſh of *Llanaſa*, through thoſe of *Whiteford*, *Holywell*, *Flint*, *Northop*, and *Hawarden*. Our coal is of different qualities, ſuited to the variety of demands of the ſeveral ſorts of founderies in the neighbourhood. Beds of canal are met with; inferior indeed in elegance to thoſe of *Lancaſhire*, but greatly coveted by the lime-burners. Sometimes is alſo found the *Peacock*-coal of Doctor *Plot* *, remarkable for the beauty of its ſurface, gloſſed over with the changeable brilliancy of the colours of that beautiful bird.

Coals were known to the *Britons* before the arrival of the *Romans*, who had not even a name

* *Hiſt. Staffordſhire*, 126.

name for them: yet *Theophraſtus* † deſcribes them very accurately, at leaſt three centuries before the time of *Cæſar:* and even ſays that they were uſed by workers in braſs. It is highly probable that the *Britons* made uſe of them. It is certain they had a primitive name for this foſſil, that of *Glo*; and as a farther proof, I may add, that a flint-ax the inſtrument of the *Aborigines* of our iſland, was diſcovered ſtuck in certain veins of coal, expoſed to day in *Craig y Parc* in *Monmouthſhire* *; and in ſuch a ſituation as to render it very acceſſible to the inexperienced natives, who, in early times, were incapable of purſuing the veins to any great depths. The artleſs ſmelters of ancient times made uſe of wood only in their operations, as we find among the reliques of their hearths, as ſhall be obſerved hereafter.

A very uſeful ſpecies of aſh-coloured greaſy clay is diſcovered over one of the beds. It reſiſts the fire remarkably well; and has been uſed with great ſucceſs in the mineral ſmelting furnaces.

The beds of ſandſtone are frequent in the lower parts of the pariſh, and reach within half a mile of the mountain; when the ſtratum changes: firſt to a blackiſh ſhale, ſoon diſſoluble by expoſure to the air; after that to a whitiſh limeſtone, or to a hard chert. Both are found in ſtrata of vaſt thickneſs: the firſt is burnt into excellent lime, and is alſo uſed as a flux for lead ores. The common ſort of houſes are built with it; for which it is leſs proper by reaſon of its exceſſive dampneſs at change of weather. Freeſtone. Lime.

† In his book on ſtones. * *Ph. Tr.* N°. 335. p. 500.

In the townſhip of *Tre-moſtyn*, near the ſhore, is a cliff of a very ſingular appearance, looking like the ſemi-vitrified *lava* of a *volcano*. The ſtratum is in front univerſally changed in its diſpoſition, and run into a horrible maſs of red and black; often porous, but in all parts very hard. In it is a hollow, a vein in which was lodged the pyritical matter that took fire, and cauſed the phænomenon. Its fury chiefly raged towards the front, and diminiſhed gradually in the internal part of the bed; which, at ſome diſtance within land, appears only diſcoloured. The ſtratum is a ſandſtone of the common ſort *. I am informed, that theſe appearances are not uncommon in *Derbyſhire*; and that Mr. *Ferber*, an ingenious *Swede*, and Mr. *Whiteburſt*, our ingenious countryman, hath taken notice of them in their writings.

Chert: The chert is the *petroſilex* of the later writers. It is of a flinty nature, and is the only ſtone that reſembles flint in our country. The annotator on *Cronſted* juſtly remarks, that the true flint abounds in chalk, which is an abſorbent earth, as chert does in the neighbourhood of limeſtone, which is alſo calcareous. As yet, this ſpecies of ſtone has not been found of any uſe. I ſuſpect, that in caſe it was burnt and ground, it might prove ſerviceable in making a coarſe ſtone ware, as the nodular flints are in making the finer.

The hilly part of our pariſh has been for a long ſucceſſion of years rich in minerals of lead and calamine. Some years ago, about ſeventeen hundred of copper ore was diſcovered; but none ſince, notwithſtanding it has been diligently ſearched after. I ſhall ſuſpend enquiry after

* *Da Coſta*'s Foſſils, 133.

after these and other minerals and fossils of this tract, till I am about to leave the part of *Flintshire* productive of these sources of wealth. I shall here only take notice of a vegetable, rare in other places, which grow on certain parts of the mountain in plenty; and in *May* makes a pretty appearance with its white flowers. This is the *arenaria saxatilis*, or mountain chickweed, engraven in the annexed plate; with a scarlet kind of mushroom, unnoticed by *Linnæus*; but described by Mr. *Ray*, p. 18. N° 5. of his Synopsis of *British* Plants.

In my road to the next parish south of this, I take that which lies on the shore; and pass by the ancient smelting-house of *Llannerch y-môr*, which is still in use for fusing of lead ore, and extracting of silver.

The sea, or the estuary of the *Dee*, lies at a small distance on the left, a verdant marsh intervening. The hundred of *Wiral*, a portion of *Cheshire*, is seen on the other side; a hilly tract, woodless and dreary, chequered with cornlands and black heaths; yet formerly was so well cloathed, as to occasion this proverbial distich:

From *Blacon* point to *Hilbree*
A squirrel might leap from tree to tree.

The view of this branch of the sea terminates on one end with *Chester*, and the rock of *Beeston*; on the other with the two little islands of *Hilbree* or *Ilbre*. On one, had been a cell of *Benedictines*, dedicated to our lady, and dependent on *Chester*. This possibly was the hermitage called *Hilburghy*, which, in the second of *Edward* III, received ten shillings a-year from

an old charity belonging to the castle at *Chester**.

The tides recede here so very far, as to deny us any variety of fish. The species most plentiful are of the flat kind; such as flounders, a few plaice, small soles, and rays. Dabs visit us in *November*; and in the last year was taken that rare species of flounder the *whiff*, whose figure is given in the annexed plate. The weever is very common here: other species are taken accidentally.

The herring in this sea is extremely desultory. At times they appear in vast shoals, even as high as *Chester*; arrive in the month of *November*, and continue till *February*; and are followed by multitudes of small vessels, which enliven the channel. Great quantities are taken and salted; but are generally shotten and meagre. It is now about ten years since they have paid us a visit.

Excepting the *Caryocatactes* or nut-breaker †, I do not recollect any very uncommon bird to have visited this parish: one of this species was killed in the garden at *Mostyn* in *October*, 1753. Its native country is *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, *Lorraine*, and some parts of *Germany*. These birds do not regularly migrate, but in a certain period quit their usual habitations; for example, in *October* 1754, multitudes appeared in *Burgundy*, and other parts of *France*. The one that visited us was probably a strayed bird out of some flock that had quitted its native land. It is a species of some beauty, yet without variety or richness of colours; being spotted with tri-

 angular

* *Tanner*, 63. † Corvus Caryocatactes, *Lin. Syn.* 157. *de Buffon* III. 122. *Gesner Av.* 244. *Scopoli.* 37. *Kramer*, 334. *Br. Zool.* II. 531.

angular marks of pure white in ruſty brown. In ſize it is ſomewhat inferior to a jackdaw: the bill very ſtrong, ſharp, and fitted for the piercing of trees; which makes it very deſtructive to timber. It inhabits the vaſt foreſts of firs; from which it has been ſtyled *Pica abietum guttata*. Like the jackdaws, it alſo neſtles in lofty towers; and like them is very noiſy. Its food is nuts, which it breaks with its bill; the cones of firs, acorns, berries, and inſects. From the firſt circumſtance, the *Germans* have named it *nuſs-bretcher*, a name adopted in the *Britiſh* Zoology.

On croſſing a little rill beneath the banks, I enter the pariſh of

HOLYWELL.

And very ſoon after croſs its noted ſtream, near its diſcharge into the eſtuary of the *Dee*. On the right aſcend to the ſite of the abby and caſtle of *Baſingwerk*, a place of importance in the wars between the *Engliſh* and *Welſh*. The land towards the ſea is ſteeply ſloped. The weſt ſide was protected by a deep gully, formed by the river; the ſouth-eaſt by the vaſt ditch, which has hitherto been univerſally ſuppoſed to have been that made by *Offa*, king of the *Mercians*. I owe the detection of that miſtake to Mr. *John Evans* of *Llwyn y Groes* *, who proves it to be one termination of another ſtupendous

* This gentleman is now engaged in an actual ſurvey of *North Wales*, and of publiſhing a large map of that part of the principality: a work extremely worthy of public encouragement. A farther account of the plan will be printed in the laſt page of this volume.

pendous work of the ſame kind, known by the name of *Wat*'s ditch; of which a full account will be given in ſome of the following pages, with remarks on the mounts, and other works that lie near its courſe.

Baſingwerk. Caſtle.

The only veſtige of this fortreſs appears in the foundation of a wall on the edge of *Offa*'s ditch. Lord *Lyttleton* * ſays, that the founder was an earl of *Cheſter*. I imagine that it muſt have been *Richard*, ſon of *Hugh Lupus*, and ſecond earl of *Cheſter*; and that the abby was fortified on the following occaſion; for even religious inſtitutions had no exemption, *tempore neceſſitatis belli, licitum eſt, hoſpitari et incaſtellari in eccleſia* †.

Accordingly, the firſt notice I find of it is in the life of St. *Werburg*, by *Bradſhaw*; who informs us, that *Richard*, on his return out of *Normandy*, where he had been educated, began his reign with an act of piety. He attempted, in 1119, a pilgrimage to the well of St. *Wenefrede*; but either in going or returning, was attacked by the *Welſh*, and obliged to take ſhelter in *Baſingwerk*. He applied to St. *Werburg* for relief; who miraculouſly raiſed certain ſands between *Flintſhire* and *Wiral*, and thus gave means to his conſtable to paſs to his aſſiſtance: which ſands, from that time were called the *Conſtable's Sands*. *Bradſhaw* ſtyles the place of his retreat an abby; a proof that here had been a religious community before the time uſually aſſigned for the foundation of this

* *Hiſt. Henry II.* 3d edit. II. 383. † *Innocentius* de immunitate eccleſiæ, quoted in Coll. Curious Diſcourſes, I. 102.

this houſe. I muſt alſo draw from Lord *Lyttleton*'s authority (for I can find no other) that this caſtle was demoliſhed by the *Welſh* in the reign of *Stephen* *.

Henry II. in 1157, after his eſcape from the ambuſcade of *Eulo*, left *Baſingwerk* reſtored, well fortified, and manned †, in order to ſecure a retreat on any future diſaſter. He did the ſame by the caſtle of *Rhudland*. In his days the inland parts of our county were a dangerous wild of foreſt. After his defeat he never truſted himſelf among our woods; but made his marches along the open ſhores.

The ſame monarch left another ſpecies of garriſon ‡; for he eſtabliſhed here a houſe of knights templars, a military order introduced into *England* in the preceding reign. They were firſt inſtituted in the Holy Land for the protection of pilgrims; and poſſibly *Henry* might have the ſame view in fixing them here, to ſecure the *Engliſh* devotees in performing their vows to our neighbouring ſaint, who ſeems about this time to have come into reputation. It is ſingular, that theſe religious knights were allowed at their inſtitution only one horſe between two; yet ſo greatly did they flouriſh, that about the year 1240, or a hundred and fifty years after their inſtitution, the order had acquired, in different parts of *Chriſtendom*, nineteen thouſand manors.

This caſtle was but of very ſhort duration; for in 1165, the gallant prince *Owen Gwynedd* laid ſiege to it, took § and levelled it to the ground; after which the name occurs no more as

* *Hiſt. Henry* II. † *M. Paris*, 129. ‡ *Powel*, 208. § The ſame, 223.

as a fortreſs. I think at this period it belonged to *Hugh de Bello Campo*, or *Beauchamp*, on whom this and *Rhudland* caſtle had been beſtowed by the *Engliſh* monarch *.

Abby. The Abby †, of which there are ſome conſiderable remains, was founded in 1131 (according to the opinion of Biſhop *Tanner*) by *Randal* the ſecond earl of *Cheſter*: according to Biſhop *Fleetwood*, by *Henry* II. For my part, I believe it to be of greater antiquity; but do not pretend to derive its origin. No light into the matter can be collected from the charters preſerved by Sir *William Dugdale*. There are three of them, either ſerving to confirm the ancient donations, or confer new: in each is mention of the earl as a benefactor; but there is not the leaſt hint of his having been the founder. I muſt attribute that honour to one of the princes of *Wales*; for both *Lhewelyn ap Jorwerth*, and his ſon *David*, in their reſpective charters recite, that they give and confirm the ſeveral donations to GOD, St. *Mary*, the monaſtery of *Baſingwerk*, and the monks, which had been beſtowed on them by their predeceſſors for the ſalvation of their ſouls.

RANDAL was certainly a great benefactor; for it appears, that before his days the monks had only a chapel here. From that period it became conſiderable; and about that time part of the preſent buildings were erected, for the conveniency of its inhabitants, who were of the *Ciſtercian* order.

The architecture is mixed. Here appears what is called *Saxon*; having the round arches and ſhort columns in ſome parts; and the Gothic narrow ſlips of high-pointed windows in others.

* *Annales Waverletenſes*. 159. † Called alſo by the *Welſh*, *Maes-glas*, or *Greenfield*.

others. The firſt ſpecies had not fell out of uſe, and the laſt was coming into faſhion, in the days of the firſt great benefactor.

The church lay on the eaſt ſide; but is now totally deſtroyed. The refectory is pretty entire; and on one ſide has a great receſs, with two round arches and a plain in front.

Above were the cells for the lodgings of the monks, with a ſmall window to each.

The chapel of the knights templars is a ſpacious building. The windows are long, narrow, and pointed; the pilaſters between them on the inſide ſlender and elegant.

There are ſome remains of offices, uſed at preſent by a tanner. Within leſs than fifty years, much of the habitable part was ſtanding; and ſometimes uſed by the worthy family, the *Moſtyns* of *Trelacre*: a lady now living was born within the walls.

During the preparations for the conqueſt of *Wales* by *Edward* I. the abby was under the protection of the *Engliſh*. There are extant two orders for the purpoſe, providing that they had no commerce with what are ſtyled the *Welſh* rebels *. I imagine that the convent was firmly attached to the victor; for I have been informed that there are, among the liſts of ſummons in the Tower, writs for calling the abbot to parliament, in the 23d, 24th, 28th, 32d, and 34th of *Edward* I.

According to the valuation of its revenues in 1534, the groſs ſum at the diſſolution was, according to *Dugdale*, 150*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*; to *Speed*, 157*l.*

* *Ayloff's Rotuli Walliæ*, 86, 82.

157 *l.* 15 *s.* 2 *d.* In 1553, there remained in charge 4 *l.* in annuities †.

The particular endowments, as I collect from *Dugdale* ‡, were these: *Henry* III. by charter, grants and confirms ten *librates* in *Longenedale* in *Derbyshire*, with the church of *Glossop*, and all its appertenances, to be held by them as freely as *William Peverel* held the same in the time of *Henry* his grandfather. The same charter confirms the donations of *Ranulph* earl of *Chester*, and other barons, *viz. Holywell*, *Fulbrook*, the chapel of *Basingwerk*, the antient residence of the monks, with the mills and their appertenances; likewise *Holes*, and a moiety of *Lecche*, and one hundred shillings of the revenues of *Chester*, the gift of the said earl. *Calders* with its inhabitants, and finally, *Kethlenedei*, the gift of *Robert Banastre*.

LHEWELYN AP JORWERTH, prince of *Wales*, and cotemporary with *Henry* III. confirms all the donations of his ancestors; particularly the site of their house, the mill before their gate, and the land before their doors; which last was granted to them by *Ranulphus*, and his brother *Æneas*. The same grant gives them also the land of *Meredeth Wawor* in *Holywell*; *Fulbrook*; a community of pasturage on the mountains; *Hanot de le Wecch*, and *Creicgraft*, with all their appertenances. His son and successor *David*, by another charter, confirms the donations of his father, and adds the lands of *Huttred*, brother to *Meredeth Wawor* of *Holywell*; the grange of *Fulbrook*; the church of *Holywell*, and the chapel of *Colsul*; and the land and pasturage of *Gelli*, before granted by his father. He

† *Willis*'s Abbies, I. 312. ‡ Monasticon, I. 720, &c.

He likewiſe empowers them to buy and ſell every thing toll-free in all his territories, for the uſe of their houſe. Alſo, the fifth part of the fiſh taken in his fiſheries at *Rhudland*; and the tenth of the fiſh belonging to him in other parts. He confirms to them all the village of *Wenhewm*, with all its inhabitants and appertenances, being the gift of *Howen de Porkenton*, and confirmed by *Helyſo*. He at the ſame time confirms the lands and paſturage in *Penthlin*, the gift of his father.

This charter is dated from *Coleſhill* in 1240, and witneſſed by *Hugh* biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and his chancellor, the famous *Ednyfed Vychan*, and others.

TANNER * mentions the tithes of *Blackbrook*, and the wood of *Langdon*; lands in *Chancleſworth*; the manor of *Weſt Kirkby* in *Cheſhire*; the ſilver mine near *Baſingwerk*; free warren in *Gethli*, *Menegrange*, *Ouregrange*, *Beggerburgh*, and *Holywell*.

The abby alſo was poſſeſſed of the hoſpital or chapel of *Sponne* near *Coventry*, which had been originally founded by *Hugh Ceveilioc* earl of *Cheſter*, who probably beſtowed it on theſe monks †.

The revenues of the abbot amounted in the whole, reckoning thoſe ariſing from the mills, lands, cows, and ſheep, to 46*l.* 11*s.* ‡.

In 1540, the houſe and lands in the neighbourhood were granted to *Henry ap Harry*, whoſe only daughter *Anne*, by her marriage with *William Moſtyn*, eſquire, of *Trelacre*, conveyed it into that family, in which it now remains.

I cannot

* *Notitia*, 711. † *Dugdale's Warwickſhire*, I. 197.
‡ *Willis's* St. *Aſaph*, 176.

I cannot recover the names of any more than two of the abbots; both of the ſame with my own. *Thomas ap Dafydd Pennant* preſided over the houſe in the time of *Guttun Owain*, a bard who flouriſhed in the year 1480, and celebrates the hoſpitality of the abbot, in ſome verſes printed in the collection of Mr. *Rhys Jones*. The poet is ſo liberal of his praiſe as to ſay, *That he gave twice the treaſure of a king in wine.*

Er bwrw yno, aur Brenin
Ef a roes, deufwy a'r win.

He ſpeak alſo of his works of utility; of the water and of the windmills he erected. Neither is he ſilent on a ſubject, pleaſing to every *Welſh* ear, the pedigree of his patron; whom he derives from *Edwin* and from *Elidir ap Rhys Sais*, a direct deſcendant from *Tudor Trevor*.

The laſt abbot conformed, and married *Angharad* daughter *Gwillim ap Gryffydd ap Gwillim*. The *Harleian* MS. calls him Sir *Thomas Pennant*. The remains of a very antient oak, ſtill to be ſeen near the ruins of the houſe, is called the abbot's, and is ſuppoſed to be his cotemporary.

The road from hence is remarkably pictureſque, along a little valley bounded on one ſide by hanging woods, beneath which the ſtream hurries towards the ſea, unleſs where interrupted by the frequent manufactories. Its origin is diſcovered at the foot of a ſteep hill, beneath the town of *Holywell*, or *Trefynnon*, to which it gave the name. The ſpring boils with vaſt impetuoſity out of a rock; and is formed into a beau-

St. Wenefrede's Well.

a beautiful well, covered with a rich arch ſupported by pillars. The roof is moſt exquiſitely carved in ſtone. Immediately over the fountain is the legend of St. *Wenefrede*, on a pendent projection, with the arms of *England* at the bottom. Number of fine ribs ſecure the arch, whoſe interſections are coupled with ſome ſculpture.

Some are mere works of fancy; groteſque figures of animals: but the reſt allude chiefly to the *Stanley* family. This building, and the chapel over it, roſe from the piety of that great houſe, who left theſe memorials of their benefactions: there are beſides ſome marks of illuſtrious donors; for example, the profile of *Margaret*, mother to *Henry* VII. and that of her huſband the earl of *Derby*, cut on the ſame ſtone.

The compliments to the *Stanleys* are very frequent. The *Wolf*'s head is the arms of the earls of *Cheſter*: it is incloſed in a garter, in reſpect to Sir *William Stanley*, knight of that order, who had been chamberlain of that city, and juſticiary of *North Wales*. The tun with a plant iſſuing out of it, is a *rebus*, the arms of his wife *Elizabeth Hopton*, alluſive to her name. This proves, that the building was erected before 1495, in which year Sir *William* loſt his head. The other badges of the ſame houſe are, the ſtag's head; the eagle's leg; and the three legs, the arms of the iſle of *Man*.

We alſo find, that *Catherine* of *Arragon*, widow to prince *Arthur*, and afterwards the unfortunate wife of his brother *Henry* VIII. was a benefactreſs to this building; at leaſt her arms appear here: three pomegranates in a ſhield, ſurmounted with a crown; the badge of the houſe

houſe of *Granada*, in memory of the expulſion of the Moors, by her father *Ferdinand* *. The eagle ſeems alſo to belong to her, being one of the ſupporters of the arms of her family.

Over one of the leſſer arches, on each ſide of the well, are the dragon and grey-hound, the ſupporters of the arms of *England* during the reign of *Henry* VII. and part of that of *Henry* VIII. The firſt was borne by *Henry* VII. as a badge of the houſe of *Tudor*, which derived itſelf from *Cadwalader*, laſt king of *Britain*, who bore on his enſign a red dragon. *Henry*, in imitation of him, at the battle of *Boſworth* carried on his ſtandard a red dragon, painted on white and green ſilk; which afterwards gave riſe to the office of *Rouge-dragon* among the heralds.

On one ſide of a wall that ſupports the roof, was painted the tale of the tutelar ſaint; at preſent almoſt defaced: over it is inſcribed, *in honorem Sanctæ Wenefredæ*, V. & M.

In another wall is an elegant nich, in which ſtood a ſtatue of the Virgin *Mary*; pulled down, as I have been informed, in the year 1635.

I have alſo heard, that there had been another of St. *Wenefrede*. To grace the image on high feſtivals, it is probable, that *Iſabel*, counteſs of *Warwick*, widow to the great *Richard Beauchamp*, left to St. *Wenefrede*, in 1439, her gown of ruſſet velvet †.

Chapel. Over this ſpring is a chapel, of the ſame date with the other building: a neat piece of gothic architecture; but in a very ruinous ſtate. This had been a free chapel, in the gift of the biſhop,

* *Sandford's Geneal.* 475.

† *Dugdale's Warwickſhire*, I. 414.

biſhop, with the reſerve of a ſtipend to the chapter; but the reſt of the offerings were to be expended on the chapel. In *Richard* III.'s time, the abbot and convent had from the crown ten marks *yearly, for the ſuſtentacione and ſalarie of a prieſte, at the chapelle of St. Wenefrede* *. The chapel is the property of *John Davies* eſquire, of *Llanerch*. The well is common; for I find by a deciſion of the court of chancery, on a law-ſuit reſpecting the lordſhip of *Holywell*, between Sir *John Egerton* knight, and *John Eldred*; chancellor *Elleſmere* decrees, "That on calling to mind, that within the ſaid "manor there is a fountain or well of antient "and worthy memory, he doth not think fit "that the petitioner, or any other, ſhould have "the property thereof, notwithſtanding the "general words of the grant of the manor: "and therefore his lordſhip doth order, that "notwithſtanding the ſaid grant, that the well "ſhall continue as now it is, or heretofore hath "been; ſaving to the petitioner, and his heirs "and aſſigns, the benefit of the ſtream and "watercourſe, with the appertainances."

There are two different opinions about the origin of this ſtream. One party makes it miraculous: the other aſſert it to be owing only to natural cauſes. The advocates for the firſt, deliver their tale thus:

In the ſeventh century lived a virgin of the name of *Wenefrede*, of noble parents; her father's name was *Thewith*, a potent lord in the parts where *Holywell* now ſtands; her mother's, *Wenlo*, deſcended from an antient family in *Mont-*

Of Saint Wenefrede.

* *Harleian* MSS. No. 433, 338.

Montgomeryſhire, and ſiſter to St. *Beuno*. *Beuno* aſſumed the monaſtic habit, retired to *Clynnog*, in *Caernarvonſhire*, where he built a church and founded a convent. After completing this work of piety, he viſited his relations in *Flintſhire*, and obtaining from his brother-in-law a little ſpot at the foot of the hill on which he reſided, erected on it a church; and took under his care his niece *Wenefrede*. A neighbouring prince of the name of *Cradocus*, ſon of king *Alen*, was ſtruck with her beauty, and at all events determined to gratify his deſires. He made known his paſſion to the lady; who, affected with horror, attempted to eſcape. The wretch, enraged at the diſappointment, inſtantly purſued her, drew out his ſabre, and cut off her head. *Cradocus* inſtantly received the reward of his crime: he fell down dead, and the earth opening, ſwallowed his impious corps. *Higden*, in his *Polychronicon* adds, that even the deſcendents of this monſter were viſited with horrible judgments, to be expiated only by a viſit to this well, or to the bones of the ſaint at *Salop*.

The

Ad *Baſingwerk* fons oritur
Qui ſatis vulgo dicitur.
Et tantis bullis ſcaturit
Quod mox, injecta, rejicit.
Tam magnum flumen procreat
Ut *Cambriæ* ſufficiat.
Ægri qui dant rogamina
Reportant medicamina.

Rubro guttatos lapides
In ſcatebris reperies
In ſignum ſacri ſanguinis,
Quem VENEFREDÆ virginis
Guttur truncatum fuderat.
Qui ſcelus hoc patraverat,
Ac nati, ac nepotuli
Latrant ut canum catuli
Donec ſanctæ ſuffragium
Poſcant ad hunc fonticulum
Vel ad urbem *Salopiæ*
Ubi quieſcit hodie *.

* *Gale's Script.* III. 190.

The ſevered head took its way down the hill, and ſtopt near the church. The valley, which, from its uncommon dryneſs, was heretofore called *Sych nant*, now loſt its name. A ſpring of uncommon ſize burſt from the place where the head reſted. The moſs on its ſides diffuſed a fragrant ſmell *. Her blood ſpotted the ſtones, which, like the flowers of *Adonis*, annually commemorate the fact, by aſſuming colours unknown to them before.

Luctus monumenta manebunt
Semper, *Adoni*, mei: repetitaque mortis imago
Annua plangoris peraget ſimulamina noſtri.

For thee, bleſt maid, my tears, my endleſs pain
Shall in immortal monuments remain.
The image of thy death each year renew;
And prove my grief, to diſtant ages, true.

St. Beuno took up the head, carried it to the corps, and, offering up his devotions, joined it nicely to the body, which inſtantly reunited. The place was viſible only by a ſlender white line encircling her neck, in memory of a miracle, which ſurpaſſed far that worked by St. *Dionyſius*, who marched in triumph after decapitation, with his head in his hands, from *Mont martre* to St. *Dennis*'s †; or that of St. *Adelbertus*, who, in like circumſtances, ſwam acroſs the *Viſtula*.

To conclude: St *Wenefrede* ſurvived decollation fifteen years. She died at *Gwytherin* in *Denbighſhire*, where her bones reſted till the reign of king *Stephen*; when, after divine admonition, they were ſurrendred to the abby of St.

* Life of St *Wenefrede*, from which the materials for this part are moſtly taken.

† Hiſtoire de l'abbaye de St. *Denys*, 76.

Peter and St. *Paul* at *Shrewſbury*. The memory of the two great events, that of her firſt death is celebrated on the 22d of *June*: that of her tranſlation the 3d of *November*.

A fraternity and guild was eſtabliſhed in honour of our ſaint at *Shrewſbury*. It had its common ſeal, which, through the kindneſs of my friend, Mr. *Henry Levingſton*, is now in my poſſeſſion. It is of copper, of the form expreſſed in the plate. In the centre is a repreſentation of the martyrdom; above is a croſs in form of a T, placed between the letters *T. m.* which mark the time when the fraternity was inſtituted, during the abbacy of *Thomas Mynde*; who was elected in 1459, and died in 1499, a period in which theſe religious ſocieties were much in faſhion. The T or croſs refers to the church of *St. Croſs* within this monaſtery. Beneath are probably the arms of the houſe, a ſword and a key, ſymbols of its tutelar apoſtles; and round the margin is this inſcription;

Sigillū cōe Ffraternitat beate Wenefride virginis
Iecciā see cruc i: fra monaſter. sci Petri Salopie.

A bell belonging to the church was alſo chriſtened in honour of her. I cannot learn the names of the goſſips, who, as uſual, were doubtleſs rich perſons. On the ceremony, they all laid hold of the rope; beſtowed a name on the bell; and the prieſt ſprinkling it with holy water, baptized it in the name of the Father, *&c. &c.** He then cloathed it with a fine garment: after this the goſſips gave a grand feaſt, and made great preſents, which the prieſt received in behalf of the bell. Thus bleſſed, it was endowed with great powers; allayed (on being rung) all

* *Stavely's* Hiſt. Churches, 130.

all ſtorms; diverted the thunder-bolt; drove away evil ſpirits. Theſe conſecrated bells were always inſcribed. The inſcription on that in queſtion ran thus:

Sancta *Wenefreda*, Deo hoc commendare memento,
Ut pietate ſua, nos ſervet ab hoſte cruento.

And a little lower was another addreſs:

Protege Prece pia, quos convoco, virgo *Maria*.

After her death, her ſanctity, ſays her hiſtorian, was proved by numberleſs miracles. The waters were almoſt as ſanative as thoſe of the pool of *Betheſda*: all infirmities incident to the human body met with relief; the votive crutches, the barrows, and other proofs of cures, to this moment remain as evidences pendent over the well. The ſaint is equally propitious to Proteſtants and Catholics; for among the offerings are to be found theſe grateful teſtimonies from the patients of each religion.

The Holy Father gave all encouragement to the piety of pilgrims to frequent this fountain. Pope *Martin* V*. in the reign of *Henry* V. furniſhed the abby of *Baſingwerk* with pardons and indulgences, to ſell to the devotees. Theſe were renewed again in the reign of queen *Mary*, by the intereſt of *Thomas Goldwell* biſhop of St. *Aſaph*†, who fled into *Italy* on the acceſſion

* *Selden*'s notes on *Michael Drayton*, 289. † *Powel*'s notes on *Girald. Cambr.* 874. Mr. *Addiſon* ſays he ſaw his picture at *Ravenna*, in the convent of *Theatins*, among the eminent men of that order.

ceſſion of *Elizabeth*. Multitudes of offerings flowed in; marks of gratitude from ſuch who had received benefit by interceſſion of the virgin.

The reſort of pilgrims of late years to theſe *Fontanalia* has conſiderably decreaſed; the greateſt number are from *Lancaſhire*. In the ſummer, ſtill a few are to be ſeen in the water in deep devotion up to their chins for hours, ſending up their prayers, or performing a number of evolutions round the polygonal well; or threading the arch between well and well a preſcribed number of times. Few people of rank at preſent honour the fountain with their preſence. A crowned head in the laſt age dignified the place with a viſit. The prince who loſt three kingdoms for a maſs, paid his reſpects, on *Auguſt* 29th 1686, to our ſaint; and received as a reward a preſent of the very ſhift in which his great grand-mother *Mary Stuart* loſt her head *. The majority of devotees are of the fair ſex, attracted hither to commemorate the martyrdom of St. *Wenefrede*, as thoſe of the Eaſt did the death of the *Cyprian* favourite,

> Whoſe annual wound in *Lebanon* allured
> The *Syrian* damſels to deplore his fate
> In woeful ditties all the ſummer's day:
> While ſmooth *Adonis* from his native rock
> Ran purple to the ſea, ſuppoſed with blood
> Of *Thammuz* yearly wounded.

We, whoſe anceſtors, between two and three centuries ago, abridged our faith to the mere contents of the Old and New Teſtament, and to the creed called the *Apoſtles*, do not think the

* The late Doctor *Cooper* of *Cheſter*'s MSS.

the belief in the above, and other legends, requiſite. I refer the reader to the arguments uſed by the antiquary Doctor *Powel*, in his notes on the Itinerary of *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, and to biſhop *Fleetwood*'s annotations on the life of the ſaint, for proofs againſt the truth of the tale: but with Proteſtants, and temperate Catholics, it carries with it ſelf-confutation.

The waters are indiſputably endowed with every good quality attendant on cold baths; and multitudes have here experienced the good effects that thus reſult from natural qualities, implanted in the ſeveral parts of matter by the divine Providence in order to fulfil his will. Heaven for a ſhort period deigned to convince a dark and obdurate age with a ſeries of miracles; which were delivered down to ſucceeding times, as inconteſtible proofs of the reality of the divine miſſion. Without them, a ſufficient ground of truſt and reliance upon the Supreme Being has long ſince been eſtabliſhed. Second cauſes innumerable are diſperſed throughout the univerſe, ſubordinate to the FIRST. Every element proves to us a medicine or a bane, as ſuits His unerring diſpenſation. We cannot want, we cannot have the mediation of poor departed mortals. The ſuppoſition would be beſtowing on them the attributes of the Deity; omnipreſence and omniſcience.

Some eminent botaniſts of my acquaintance have reduced the ſweet moſs, and the bloody ſtains, to mere vegetable productions, far from being peculiar to our fountain. The firſt is that kind of moſs called a *Jungermannia*, imperfectly deſcribed and figured by *Dillenius*, in his hiſtory of moſſes; which has induced us to give a new engraving of it. This ſpecies is alſo

Moſſes.

also found in another holy well in *Caernarvonshire*, called *Ffynnon Llanndeiniolen*, in a parish of the same name.

The other is a *Byssus*, likewise odoriferous, common to *Lapland*, and to other countries besides our own. It adheres to stones in form of fine velvet. *Linnæus* calls it *Byssus Jolithus* *, or the violet-smelling. He says, the stone to which it adheres easily betrays itself by the colour, being as if smeared with blood; and if rubbed, yields a smell like violets. *Mitheli*, in his *Genera* of plants, mentions the same †; and *Schwenckfelt* discovered it among the vegetables of *Silesia*. He calls it a *muscus subrubeus*, and informs us, that the smell is grateful to the heart; and that, if put among cloaths, it gives them a good scent, and serves to drive away moths ‡. *Linnæus* says §, that it is of use in eruptive disorders.

Above the well stands the church, dedicated to St. *Wenefrede*. The parish wakes are celebrated in *November*, the time of her translation. The living, before the dissolution, belonged to the abby of *Basingwerk*; and is a vicarage in the gift of *Jesus College Oxford*, which nominates; and *John Davies* esquire, of *Llanerch*, the lay-rector, presents.

Above the church is a hill called *Byrn y Castell*, narrow, and very steep on the sides, projecting at the end over the little valley. On this might have stood the castle of *Treffynnon*, or St. *Wenefrede*, built by *Randle* III. earl of *Chester*, in the year 1210 ‖. There are not at present any vestiges left.

It

* *Sp. Pl.* II. 1638. *Fl. Lap.* 369. No. 528. † Gen. 210. tab. 89. fig. 3. ‡ Cat. Stirp. &c. *Silesiæ*, 382.
§ As quoted by Baron *Haller*, No. 2090. ‖ *Powel*, 262.

It is ſingular, that no mention is made in the Doomſday book of either chapel, church, or well; yet townſhips now of leſs note are named; ſuch as *Brunford Caldecote*, and others. Notwithſtanding biſhop *Fleetwood*'s opinion, I think the legend of St. *Wenefrede* was known previous to that ſurvey; for the very name of *Holywell* is *Saxon*, probably beſtowed on it before the Conqueſt, on account of the imputed ſanctity of the well.

The ſpring is certainly one of the fineſt in theſe kingdoms; and, by the two different trials and calculations lately made for my information, is found to fling out about twenty-one tons of water in a minute. It never freezes; or ſcarcely varies in the quantity of water, in droughts or after the greateſt rains. After a violent fall of wet, it becomes diſcoloured by a wheyey tinge.

The ſtream formed by this fountain runs with a rapid courſe to the ſea, which it reaches in little more than a mile's diſtance. The induſtry of this century hath made its waters of much commercial utility. The principal works on it at this time are battering mills for copper; a wire-mill, coarſe paper mill, ſnuff-mill, a foundery for braſs; and at this time, a cotton manufactory is eſtabliſhing, the ſucceſs of which will be an extenſive bleſſing to the neighbourhood.

During the reign of pilgrimages, nothing but a corn-mill or two, the property of the monks, found employ for this beneficial ſtream.

The town was alſo very inconſiderable till the beginning of this century; the houſes few, and thoſe for the moſt part thatched; the

ſtreets unpaved; and the place deſtitute of a market. The flouriſhing mines, that for ſome time were diſcovered in the neighbourhood, made a great change in the appearance, and introduced the effects of wealth. The town, or rather townſhip, contains ſomewhat more than two thouſand ſouls.

The monks of *Baſingwerk* obtained for it the grant of a fair and a market. The firſt has been dropt beyond the memory of man. The market was alſo loſt, till it was renewed by letters patent, dated *Jan.* 20th, 1703, granted to Sir *John Egerton* baronet. The patent alſo contains a grant of three fairs, *viz.* on the 23d of *April*, the *Tueſday* in *Eaſter* week, and the 2d of *September*. The market has been the moſt flouriſhing in *North Wales*; but the fairs never could be eſtabliſhed.

The ſituation of the town is pleaſant and healthy. On the back is a lofty hill, at times extremely productive of lead ore. Towards the ſea is a pretty valley, bounded by woods: the end finiſhes on one ſide with the venerable abby. To ſuch who require the uſe of a cold-bath, few places are more proper; for, beſides the excellence of the waters, exceeding good medical aſſiſtance, and comfortable accommodations, may be found here; and the mind entertained, and the body exerciſed, in a variety of beautiful rides and walks.

My next viſit was to *Flint*. I took the lower road, by the ſhore, blackened with the ſmoke of ſmelting-houſes; and, in the more flouriſhing times of the collieries, with vaſt ſtacks of coal. The laſt townſhip in *Holywell* pariſh, on this ſide, is that of *Coleſhill*; which gives name to a hundred, and was ſo called from its abundance of foſſil fuel. This place had at the

Coleſhill.

Conqueſt,

Conqueſt four villeyns, two boors, and a *Radman*. This laſt ſeems to have been the ſame with the *Rod* or *Rad-knights*, who, by the tenure of their lands, were bound to ride with or for their lord, as often as his affairs required.

After croſſing a ſmall brook, enter the town of FLINT: a place laid out with great regularity; but the ſtreets far from being completed. The removal of the greater and the leſſer ſeſſions, and its want of trade, will be farther checks to its improvement. This town gave name to the county, which, with that of *Caernarvon*, *Merioneth*, and *Angleſey*, compoſed the four ancient *North Welſh* ſhires, formed by *Edward* I. immediately after the conqueſt of our principality. I cannot aſſign any derivation of the word: our county is totally deſtitute of the foſſil uſually ſo called. I can only remark, that it is purely *Saxon*; and, notwithſtanding it is not mentioned in the Doomſday book, was called ſo before the Conqueſt. Flint.

This place alſo ſeems to me have been the ſame with what was named *Colſul* or *Coleſhill*. I can find no other ſite for the chapel of *Colſul*, granted by *David ap Llewelyn* to the abby of *Baſingwerk*. The preſent *Flint* probably went at this period under both names. There is no trace of any chapel in the neighbourhood excepting this; nor any other place of conſequence enough to tempt our princes to live at. It was called in the Doomſday book *Coleſelt*; and was poſſeſſed by *Robert* of *Rhudland*. *Edwin* held it from him, and as a free-man. Here was one hide of land taxable.

The

The whole place appears to have been founded in times of danger; and every proviſion made againſt an attack from a people recently ſubdued, and who had ſubmitted reluctantly to a foreign yoke. The town is formed on the principle of a *Roman* encampment, being rectangular, and ſurrounded with a vaſt ditch and two great ramparts, with the four regular *portæ*, as uſual with that military nation. I ſhall hereafter give a conjecture of the probability of its having been a *Roman* ſtation.

The public buildings within this precinct are the church, the town-hall, and the jail; not one of which is any ornament to this little capital. The church, or rather chapel, is dedicated to St. *Mary*; and is only a perpetual curacy under *Northop*. I imagine this to have been the *capella de Colſul* *, belonging to the abby of *Baſingwerk*, mentioned in the charter of *David ap Llewelyn*; at leaſt, I can trace no other. *Flint*, in that time, was probably comprehended under the name of *Colſul*.

The caſtle ſtands on a low free-ſtone rock that juts into the ſands, a little north-eaſt of the town; and was once joined to it by a bridge which led to the outwork, called the *Barbican*; a ſquare tower, with a gateway, now entirely demoliſhed. Within was a court ſurrounded with a ditch faced with a wall, that joined by means of a drawbridge to the main fortreſs; whoſe entrance, for better ſecurity, was little more than a poſtern.

The caſtle is a ſquare building, with a large round tower at three of the corners, and a fourth a little disjoined from the other, and much larger than the reſt. This is called the *double tower*.

* *Dugdale Monaſt.* I. 720.

tower. It had been joined to the caſtle by a drawbridge, and is of great thickneſs. It has a circular gallery beneath, vaulted, with four arched openings into a central area, a little more than twenty-two feet in diameter. In one part, the gallery is ſuddenly lowered, and goes ſloping towards the caſtle; and then riſing upwards, makes a ſort of communication with an upper gallery.

This was the Keep, or ſtrong part of the caſtle, and the ſame that the *French* call *le Dongeon*; to which, as *Froiſſart* informs us, the unfortunate *Richard* II. retired, as the place of greateſt ſecurity, when he was taken by *Bolingbroke*.

The channel of the *Dee* at preſent is at ſome diſtance from the walls; but formerly flowed beneath. There are ſtill in ſome parts rings, to which ſhips were moored.

The founder of this caſtle is uncertain. *Cambden* attributes it to *Henry* II. and his noble hiſtorian * is of the ſame opinion. After his eſcape at *Euloe*, it is poſſible that he might have begun a fortreſs here for ſecurity in future times; that he might have left it incomplete; and that it was finiſhed by *Edward* I. The rolls of the laſt reign mention the place ſeveral times.

In the year 1277, there was an order for proclaiming a market and fair to be held at *Flint*; and the ſame was afterwards done through *Cheſhire*, and the cantreds of *Wales*.

In 1280, appears an order for the cuſtody of the gate of the caſtle of *Flint*. Perhaps this might have been the year in which it was firſt garriſoned.

In

* Lord *Lyttelton*.

In 1283, the town received its firſt charter; was made a free borough; and the mayor ſworn faithfully to preſerve its liberties. This is dated at *Flint* on the 8th of *September*: it was confirmed again in the 2d and 3d years of *Philip* and *Mary*, and afterwards in the 12th of *William* III.

In 1283, the burgeſſes alſo received a grant from *Edward*, of timber out of the woods of *Northop*, *Ledebroke* the greater and leſſer, *Keldreſton*, *Wolfynton*, *Weper*, and *Sutton*, in order to ſmelt their lead ore; and at the ſame time a right of paſturage in the ſame woods.

In 1290, there is an order for ſuperintending the works of this caſtle, and thoſe of *Rhudland* and *Cheſter*; places of the firſt importance, on the borders of a new-conquered country *.

The firſt great event that occurs to me reſpecting this fortreſs is in the year 1280, when the *Welſh*, wearied with the reiteration of oppreſſion, as a ſignal of general inſurrection, ſurprized the place †; at the ſame time that *David*, brother of *Llewelyn*, took *Hawarden*; and *Rees* the ſon of *Maelgwn*, and *Griffith ap Meredeth ap Owen*, ſeized the caſtle of *Aberyſtwyth* ‡.

Here, in 1311, the infatuated ſon of our conqueror received from exile his imperious favourite *Piers Gaveſton*, who had landed at *Caernarvon* from *Ireland* §.

From this period I find nothing remarkable relating to this fortreſs, till the year 1335, the 9th of *Edward* III. when appears an order to the Black Prince, as earl of *Cheſter*, to take in ſafe

* Rotuli *Walliæ*, 98. † Idem. 76. ‡ *Powel*, 337. § *Stow*, 214.

ſafe cuſtody the caſtle of *Flint* and *Rhudland*. and to furniſh them with men and proviſions *. *Edward*, in his 7th year, had by charter granted to his gallant ſon the caſtle of *Cheſter*, *Beeſton*, *Rhudland*, and *Flint*, and all his lands there; and alſo the cantred and lands of *Engleſield*, with all their appertenances, to have and to hold to him and his heirs, kings of *England* †.

In this *dollorous caſtell* ‡, as *Halle* ſtyles it, was depoſed the unfortunate monarch *Richard* II. To this place he was inveigled by *Henry Percy*, earl of *Northumberland*, with the aſſurance that *Bolingbroke* wiſhed no more than to be reſtored to his own property; and to give to the kingdom a parliament. *Northumberland*, with a ſmall train, firſt met *Richard* at *Conway*, then on his return from *Ireland*. The king diſtruſted the earl; who, to remove all ſuſpicion, went with him to maſs, and at the altar took an oath of fidelity. The king fell into the ſnare; proceeded with the earl for ſome time, till he perceived, about the precipice of *Pene Rhôs*, a large band of ſoldiers with the *Percy* banners. The king would have then retired; but *Northumberland*, catching hold of his bridle, forcibly directed his courſe. The poor prince had juſt time to reproach him with his perjury, telling him, that the God he had ſworn upon that morning, would do him juſtice at the day of judgment §. He cauſed the king to dine at *Rhudland*, and conveyed him that night to *Flint*. The next morning, he was aſtoniſhed with the ſight of a numerous army, commanded by his rival, in full march along the ſands:

* Rotuli *Scotiæ*, 165. † *Dodridge*, 125. ‡ III.
§ *Carte* II. 634.

ſands: they ſoon ſurrounded the caſtle. The prince deſcended from the *Keep* *, to meet *Bolingbroke*; who fell on his knees, and for a ſhort ſpace aſſumed a reſpectful appearance: but he ſoon flung off the maſk; for, 'with a 'high ſharpe voyce,' ſays Stow, 'the Duke 'badde bring forth the king's horſes; and then 'two little nagges, not worth forty franks, 'were brought forth; the king was ſet on the 'one, and the earl of *Saliſbury* on the other; 'and thus the duke brought the king from '*Flint* to *Cheſter*, where hee was delivered to 'the duke of *Gloceſter*'s ſonne, and to the earle 'of *Arundel*'s ſonne, that loved him but a lit-'tle; for he had put their fathers to death; 'who led him ſtrait to the caſtle †.'

If *Froiſſart* may be credited, *Richard* did not experience the pang of ingratitude from man alone: by a ſtrange infection, it ſeized the moſt faithful of the brute creation; for his very dog deſerted him, and fawned on his rival *Bolingbroke*, as if he underſtood and predicted the misfortunes of his old maſter. The ſtory is ſo ſingular, that I ſhall relate it in the words of his noble tranſlator Sir *John Bouchier*, lord *Berners* ‡; who, ſpeaking of the tranſactions in *Flint* caſtle, ſays,

'And as it was enfourmed me, kyng *Rich-'arde* had a grayhounde called *Mathe*, who 'alwayes wayted upon the kynge, and woulde 'knowe no man els. For whan ſo ever the 'kynge

* This place, in old writers, is called the *Dongeon*, or *Donjon*: according to SKINNER, *Turris munitiſſima propugnaculi ad ultimum receptum*; but the word being now entirely applied to the miſerable hole in which captives are confined, I ſhall ſtill retain the term *Keep*.

† *Stow*'s Annals, 322. ‡ Fol. cccxii.

'kynge did ryde, he that kepte the grayhounde 'dyd lette hym loſe, and he wolde ſtreyght 'runne to the kynge and fawne upon hym, and 'leape with his fore fete upon the kynges 'ſhoulders. And as the kynge and the erle 'of *Derby* talked togyder in the courte, the 'grayhounde, who was wont to leape upon 'the kynge, left the kynge and came to the 'erle of *Derby*, duke of *Lancaſtre*, and made 'to hym the ſame frendly countinaunce and 'chere as he was wonte to do to the kyng. 'The duke, who knewe not the grayhounde, 'demaunded of the kynge what the grayhounde 'wolde do. Coſyn, quod the kyng, it is a 'great good token to you, and an evyll ſygne 'to me. Sir, howe knowe you that, quod 'the duke? I knowe it well, quod the kynge. 'The grayhounde maketh you chere this daye 'as kynge of *Englande*, as ye ſhalbe, and I 'ſhalbe depoſed: the grayhounde hath this 'knowledge naturallye: therefore take hym to 'you; he wyll folowe you and forſake mee. 'The duke underſtoode well thoſe wordes, 'and cherysſhed the grayhounde, who wolde 'never after folowe kynge *Richarde*, but fo-'lowed the duke of *Lancaſtre*.'

In the inſurrection of *Owen Glendwr*, *Henry* prince of *Wales* procured from his father a pardon for ſeveral of his tenants in theſe parts, who took up arms in the cauſe of our valiant countryman *.

There is another gap in the hiſtory till the troubles of the laſt century; when this country took an active part in ſupport of royalty. *Flint* caſtle was garriſoned for the king, after having

* *Harleian* MSS. N°. 2099.

having been repaired at the expence of Sir *Roger Moſtyn* knight, who was appointed governor. In 1643, it was cloſely beſieged by Sir *Thomas Middleton*; and was defended by the governor till all proviſions, even to horſes, failing, he then ſurrendered it upon honourable terms.

'This colonel *Moſtyn*,' ſays *Whitelock*, 'is 'my ſiſter's ſon, a gentleman of good parts 'and mettle; of a very antient family, large 'poſſeſſions, and great intereſt in that coun-'try; ſo that in twelve hours he raiſed fifteen 'hundred men for the king *.'

I may add, that after a long impriſonment in the caſtle of *Conway*, towards the concluſion of the war, his circumſtances were ſo reduced, having ſpent ſixty thouſand pounds in the ſervice of the crown, he was obliged to deſert his family-ſeat, and live ſeveral years in an ordinary farm-houſe.

FLINT fell afterwards into the hands of the loyaliſts; for, under the year 1646, I find in the ſame hiſtorian, that the garriſon ſeemed inclinable to come to a treaty. In *November* of the preceding year, it had received that of *Beeſton*; which, after a moſt gallant defence, capitulated, and was allowed to march with all the honours of war to this place †. But on the 29th of *Auguſt*, *Flint* caſtle was ſurrendered to major-general *Mytton*; and in 1647 was, with other *Welſh* caſtles, diſmantled by order of the houſe, directed to the general for that purpoſe ‡.

On the reſtoration, it was reſumed by the crown, among its other rights, in which it ſtill continues. The crown governs it by a conſtable,

* *Whitelock*, 76. † *Ruſhworth* I. part iv. 136.
‡ Idem, Ibid. 456.

ſtable, who is likewiſe mayor of *Flint*. Theſe offices are at preſent filled by my friend *Owen Brereton*, eſquire.

The town, in conjunction with *Caerwys*, *Rhudland*, *Caergwrley*, and *Overton*, ſends a member to parliament. The election is made by the inhabitants paying parochial taxes; and the return made by the two bailiffs of *Flint*, appointed by the mayor. The borough land of this town extends over the whole pariſh, and alſo the townſhip of *Coleſhill*, in the pariſh of *Holywell*.

The *Welſh* boroughs and counties received the privilege of repreſentatives by act of parliament of the 27th of *Henry* VIII.

This town, with the county, was an appendage to the earldom of *Cheſter*. The following ſchedule gives us their revenues, as they ſtood in the 50th year of *Edward* III.

The profits of the manor of *Hope* and

	£.	s.	d.
Hopedale, —	63	0	0
of the manor of *Eulo*, and the coal-mines,	6	0	0
of the office of conſtable of *Rhudland*, whereof he was accountable —	8	14	0
the rent of the town of *Flint*, —	56	0	0
of the town of *Coleſhill*,	4	7	10
of the town of *Caerwis*,	22	6	8
of *Bagberge*, —	14	3	4
of *Veyvoll (Veynoll)*,	13	6	8
of *Rhudland*. —	72	9	2
of *Moſtyn*, —	15	6	8
of the office of eſcheator of *Engleſield*,	56	0	0

Brought over, £.	331	14	4
The *Bleglot* of the county of *Flint*, which conſiſteth of the profits of the hundred courts within the ſaid county, —	72	11	9
The profits of the perquiſites of the ſeſſion of *Flint*,	30	0	0
of the eſcheator of the ſaid county,	8	0	0
Total, £.	442	6	1

Atis-croſs.

About a mile from the town, on the lower road to *Cheſter*, ſtood a croſs, whoſe pedeſtal I remember, which was called *Atis-croſs*, and the land around is ſtill called *Croes-ati*. This probably was a place of note; for, at the Conqueſt, it gave name to a very conſiderable hundred, at that time conſidered as part of *Cheſhire*. *Exeſtan* was another, now given to *Flintſhire*; which will be noticed in its place.

There is a tradition, that in very old times there ſtood a large town at this place; and it is ſaid the foundations of buildings have been frequently turned up by the plough. But what is moſt remarkable, is the great quantities of ſcoria of lead, bits of lead ore, and fragments of melted lead, diſcovered in ſeveral ſpots here, and along the country, juſt above the ſhore, in the adjoining pariſh of *Northop*. Theſe have of late been diſcovered to contain ſuch quantities of lead, as to encourage the waſhers of ore to farm the ſpots. In this tract, numbers of tons have been gotten within a ſmall time, eſpecially at *Pentre* FFWRN-DAN, or the *place of the fiery furnace*; a name it was always known by, and which evinces the antiquity of ſmelting

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ing in theſe parts, but this etymology was never confirmed, till by means of theſe recent diſcoveries.

In page 42 I mentioned my ſuſpicion, that the precinct of *Flint* town once ſerved to incloſe a ſmall *Roman* ſtation: I am confirmed in my opinion, from the multitudes of *Roman* coins, *Fibulæ*, and variety of antique inſtruments, lately diſcovered by the workmen in the old waſhes of this and the next pariſh; which prove that the *Romans* made this their port for exporting the metal, after it was fuſed from the ore of the adjacent mountains. Here might be placed a ſmall garriſon to protect the antient ſmelters, or to collect the duties, or to receive the tribute of metal. Previous to the ſettlement of the *Romans* in *Britain*, *Strabo* ſpeaks * ſo ſlightly of our articles of commerce, as to ſay, they were not worth the expence of one legion and a few horſe. He died in the year 25, before our country was ſcarcely known, except by the attempt of *Cæſar*. But the trade, both in his days, and thoſe of that great geographer, was carried on merely by exchange. The *Britons* worked their mines of tin and lead; and in their room received from the foreign merchants, earthen ware, ſalt, and works of braſs †.

In a ſmall time after the *Romans* had carried their arms through our iſland, they began to apply with vigour to the working of the mines. At firſt, the ore of lead was got with eaſe: it offered itſelf on the ſurface. In *Spain* and *Gaul*, much labour was required to dig it up; in *Britain* it was found near the common ſoil ‡; and in ſuch quantities, that in *Pliny*'s time (who

* Lib. iv. p. 307. † Idem, lib. iii. p. 265.
Plinii, Hiſt. Nat. xxxiv. c. 17.

died in the year 79) there was a law (as there is at preſent in reſpect to black lead) limiting the annual produce *. Chance was the general detector of metallic riches in early times. The gold mines of *Galicia* were diſcovered by the plough †: thoſe of *India* by the caſting up of hillocks by the piſmires ‡: the ſilver mines of *Spain* by the caſual burning of a wood §. Trivial accidents, even to this age, have been the cauſe of mighty mineral diſcoveries. The great mine at *Halkin* was diſcovered by ditching: that at *Llangynnog* in *Montgomeryſhire*, by the ſlip of a woman aſcending a hill, and baring the vein with her feet. Many of the works that we ſuſpect to have been *Roman* are very ſhallow, generally in form of trenches, through which they purſued the veins. They probably were diſcovered by ſlight cauſes. But as ore grew more ſcarce, and avarice encreaſed, the purſuit went as deep as the art or powers of the time would permit. *Imus in viſcera ejus (Telluris) et in ſedes manium opes quærimus* ‖. 'We deſcend into the very bowels of the earth; 'and ſeek riches in the ſeat of departed 'ſpirits.' The want of gun-powder was a great impediment. Inſtead, we find that great fires were uſed; the rock intenſely heated, and cracks formed in it by the ſudden infuſion of water; *Pliny* ſays of vinegar ¶. The wedge or pick-ax ** was then inſinuated into the apertures, and the ſtone or the ore forced out. Miners often diſcover the marks of fire in antient mines. I am in poſſeſſion of a little wedge, five inches and a quarter long, preſented to me

† *Pliny*, lib. xxxiv. c. 17. † *Juſtin.* lib. xliv. c. 3.
‡ *Strabo*, lib. ii. p. 121. lib. xv. p. 1028. § *Diod. Siculus*, lib. v. c. 2. ‖ *Plinii.* lib. xxxiii. Proemium. ¶ Lib. xxxiii. c. 4. ** Ibid.

me by Mr. *Smedly* of *Bagillt Hall*, diſcovered in working the deep fiſſures of *Dalar Goch* rock in the pariſh of *Diſert* in this county. This little inſtrument affords a proof of its antiquity, by being almoſt entirely incruſted with lead ore. It had probably lain in the courſe of ſome ſubterraneous ſtream, which had brought along with it the leaden particles, and depoſited them on the iron.

Pick-axes of an uncommon bulk, and very clumſy, have been diſcovered in the bottom of the mineral trenches. Theſe ſeem to have been the ſame with the *Fraſtaria* of the *Romans*, pick-axes of enormous ſize, uſed by the miners in the gold mines * of *Spain*. Buckets of ſingular conſtruction, and other things of uſes unknown at preſent, have been found among the antient mines.

In many reſpects the antient methods of mining were ſimilar to thoſe in preſent uſe. The labourers worked by ſtems, relieving each other at ſtated times. They worked night and day, by the light of lamps. They drove levels, and ſunk ſhafts, propping up the ground as they went on. They purſued the veins by forming drifts †; and finally, whenever the mines were moleſted with water, they had pumps, which flung up the water from the greateſt depths they arrived at ‡.

I have mentioned above, the caſual detection of our mineral wealth. It will perhaps amuſe the reader, by informing him, that in this county, within my memory, recourſe was had to the *virgula divinatoria*, or divining rod; which, by powers ſympathetic with the latent ore, Divining Rod.

* *Pliny*, lib. xxxiii. c. 4. † Ibid. ‡ *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v. c. 2.

ore, was to ſave the uſual expences of ſearch, and to point out the very ſpot where the treaſures lay. A foreign adventurer, half knave half enthuſiaſt, made the trial; but it proved as unfortunately unſucceſsful to himſelf, as to his admirers. The inſtrument of the attempt was no more than a rod forked at one end, 'to 'be cut in a planetary hour on SATURN's *day* 'and hour; becauſe SATURN *is the ſignificator* 'of lead.' *Jupiter*, *Venus*, *Sol*, and *Mercury*, were alſo concerned in the time of the operation. '*Jupiter*, or *Pars Fortunæ*, was to be in *Con-* 'junction, *Sextile*, or *Trine* to the LORD of the 'aſcendent or ſecond; and the better, if any 'reception happen; but BEWARE it be not by '*Square* or *Oppoſition*; for that ſpoils all *.' Thus cut, it is laid by for uſe on a heap of wheat or barley; and from the rod of *Moſes*, was alſo profanely called the *Moſaical* rod. This was to be held by the forks in both hands; and carried over the grounds ſuſpected to contain the ore. It went unaffected over all the barren ſpots; but no ſooner did it impend over a vein, than it preſſed ſtrongly down, and ſeemed to feel the ſame attraction as is between iron and the magnet. The ſenſible *Agricola* ſpeaks of this practice incidentally: and gives a long account of the proceſs; but places no kind of faith in it, aſſuring us, that the ſkilful miner ſhould follow the natural ſigns of the mineral veins, and deſpiſe the uſe of theſe enchanted ſticks. He traces their origin from impoſture. The magicians of *Pharaoh* made uſe of wands in their deception of the ſerpents: *Minerva*, by virtue of a wand, turned

* *Hooſon*'s Miner's Dictionary, article *virgula divinatoria*.

turned the aged *Ulysses* into a young man; and again to his former state: *Circe*, by the magical powers of a rod, changed his companions into beasts: And lastly, *Mercury*, by the same means, impelled the watchful to sleep, and the sleepy to wake*. Let me now return to realities!

The miners, in the earlier times of the *Romans* in *Britain*, seem to have been the subdued natives. *Galgacus* encourages his soldiers to conquer or die, by laying before them the dreadful consequences of a defeat; *Tributa et* METALLA, *et cætera servientium pœnæ*. 'Tributes and mines, and all the dire penalties 'of slavery.' *Agricola* himself verifies the prophetic spirit of our brave chieftain, by calling our mines the reward of victory. These were to be worked not by the conquerors, but by condemned criminals, by slaves†, and *Britons* newly subjugated. It is probable, that when the island was entirely settled, this badge of slavery was taken away, and the miners were, as before the arrival of the *Romans*, voluntary labourers.

When the ore was got, it was cleansed according to the modern method, and smelted in a furnace‡, and cast into forms very nearly resembling the common pigs of lead.

Roman Pigs of Lead.

Of such, I have seen three, found in different parts of *Britain*: the one in *Hints* common, in the manor of *Ralph Floyer* esquire, in the county of *Stafford*, in the year 1771. It was found under ground, at the depth of four feet. Its

* *Agricola de Re Metallica*, lib. ii. p. 26, 27.

† *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v. c 2. gives a melancholy account of these slaves; whose state can be only paralleled by the poor *Indians* in the mines of *Potosi*.

‡ *Plinii*, lib. xxxiv. c. 16.

Its length is twenty-two inches and a half; the weight a hundred and fifty-two pounds, about two pounds heavier than our common pigs of lead. On the upper ſurface is a rim; within that, in raiſed capitals, ſtruck when the metal was hot, is this inſcription: IMP×VESP+ VII×T×IMP×V×COS. or *Imperatore* VESPASIANO *Septimùm* TITO *Imperatore quintùm Conſule:* which anſwers to the year 75 or 76.

On one ſide is the word DECEA, and at a diſtance the letter G. An ingenious Anonymous, in the Gentleman's *Magazine* of 1772, conjectures it to have been a C, made by the ſuperintendant of the mine, or furnace, to ſhew either that the pig had paid duty, or was of due weight, or of proper purity. For my part, I am of opinion, that DECEA had once between it and the G, the letter N: which will render it DECEANG, or *de Ceangis*, the place which produced the ore; but by ſome accident that letter was defaced, and the G left ſeemingly unconnected. This explanation will fling light on certain pieces of lead deſcribed by *Cambden*, to be taken notice of a few lines lower.

This curious antiquity is in the cabinet of Mr. *Green*, apothecary in *Litchfield*; whoſe collection merits the attention of the inquiſitive traveller; who may be aſſured of the moſt liberal reception from the worthy owner.

In 1731, two pigs of the ſame kind, and of the ſame length, were diſcovered on *Hayſhaw* moor, in the manor of *Dacre*, in the weſt riding of *Yorkſhire*, on the eſtate of Sir *John Ingleby* of *Ripley*. One is preſerved by the family: the other was preſented to the *Britiſh Muſeum*. Theſe alſo have an imperial inſcription

tion on the top; *Imperatore* CÆSARE DOMITIANO AUGUSTO *Conſule Septimum*. This was caſt in the year 87, and under the ſame regulation. The other pig, which I ſaw at *Ripley Hall*, has the ſame inſcription; and on one ſide the word *Brig*, ſignifying that it came from the country of the *Brigantes* *.

In the time of *Cambden*, twenty pieces of lead, ſimilar to the above, were found near *Halton* in *Cheſhire*; ſome inſcribed, IMP. DOMIT. AUG. C. DE CEANG.; others, IMP. VESP. VII. T. IMP. V. COSS. Theſe have been ſuppoſed to commemorate a victory over the *Cangi*; but it is evident that they were nothing more than pigs of lead brought here for uſe, or for tranſportation: and I am farther ſatisfied, that the ore which produced this lead was dug and ſmelted, either in that part of *Flintſhire* antiently called *Tegangle*, or the ſummer's reſidence of the *Cangi*, or *Ceangi*; or from the reſidence of the ſame order of people either in *Derbyſhire*, or ſome neighbouring county. This gives reaſon to ſuſpect, that theſe *Cangi*, during their long vacant time, might ſometimes engage in mineral concerns; and then the ore, when ſmelted, might receive the mark of the people from whom it was received. The pig of lead in Mr. *Green*'s cabinet, certainly came from the *Cangi* of *Derbyſhire*.

From the regulation mentioned by *Pliny*, and all theſe imperial inſcriptions, it is clear, that the public took the mineral concerns into its own hands; and had their ſtamp-maſters in proper places. I cannot pretend to fix the period of the firſt eſtabliſhment. If the inſcription to *Claudius* †, on a maſs of lead found in *Henry*

* Vide tab. IX. † *Cambden*, I. 83. *Horſely*, 328.

Henry VIII.'s time, near *Wokey Hole* in *Somerſetſhire*, be of the ſame kind with the former, it muſt have been within the year 49, the time of his ninth tribuneſhip.

The *Romans* found ſuch plenty of ſilver in the *Spaniſh* mines, that for ſome time they never thought it worth their labour to extract it from lead *. In later times, they diſcovered an ore that contained ſilver, tin, and lead; and theſe three metals were ſmelted from it. It appears, that the firſt product was the tin; the ſecond, the ſilver; and what *Pliny* calls *Galæna*, which was left behind in the furnace, and ſeems to be the ſame with our *litharge*, and being melted again, became lead, or, as the antients called it (to diſtinguiſh it from white lead or tin) *black lead* §.

The *Britiſh* name of lead is loſt. The only word we have to expreſs an ore is *mwyn*; but the ſpecies is expreſſed by an adjunct, as *mwyn aur*, gold, *mwyn plwm*, lead ore; both which were probably derived from the *Latin*. The *Romans* made uſe of the word *metallum* to expreſs ore, as well as the metal fuſed from it: the word *minera* is a word of a barbarous age, and probably derived from our *mwyn*.

I ſhall finiſh this account of the *Roman* ſtate of the lead concerns, with obſerving, that they appeared to have been well verſed in metallurgy, and to have had their ſmelting-houſes. The ruder *Britons*, before their conqueſt by the *Romans*, had a very ſimple proceſs. They placed the ore in a hole in the ground, and mixed it with wood; which being fired, proved

* *Strabo*, lib. iii. p. 221. § *Plinii*, lib. xxxiv. c. 16.

ed ſufficient to melt the lead out of the ſoft and kindly ores of this country; a ſmall gutter communicated with a ſecond hole, into which the metal ran from the firſt. Theſe artleſs ſlag-hearths are very frequent in our county, diſcovered by the quantity of *ſcoria* mixed with charcoal. Some of our modern ſmelters have endeavoured to extract the remaining part of the metal from theſe ſlags, but in vain; the antient ſmelters having ſo effectually done their buſineſs, as not to have left behind ſufficient to pay the expences of a ſecond operation: the moſt that could be procured from a ton of ſlags, amounting only to about a hundred and fifty pounds weight.

I cannot tell what uſe the *Britons* made of the metal, excepting as an article of commerce. I muſt not dare to aſſent to the tale of the venerable *Bede* *, who ſays, that the ſtakes driven into the *Thames*, to obſtruct the paſſage of *Cæſar*, were wrapped round with lead. The project was uſeleſs. This expedient of the *Britons* was temporary; the ſtakes did not require ſuch a covering to preſerve them; and the metal of lead was ſurely improper to point them with.

I am of opinion, that there had been in our country a ſucceſſion of founderies of lead, from the time of the *Romans* to the preſent, at every period in which the civil commotions would permit them to be carried on. The *Saxons* worked the *Britiſh* mines as well as the *Romans*, and made frequent uſe of the lead in all works of eccleſiaſtcial magnificence. The cathedral of *Lindisfarn* † was roofed with lead by its biſhop

* Lib. i. c. 2. p. 42.
† *Bede* Hiſt. lib. iii. c. 25. p. 131.

biſhop *Eadberct*, about the year 652; that of *York* was covered with the ſame metal by its great prelate *Wilfrid* *, in 669; and after that, *Egelric*, who was elected abbot of *Crowland* in 975, roofed the infirmary and chapel of that famous abby in a ſimilar manner †. I mention theſe circumſtances merely to ſhew, that the *Saxons* continued the buſineſs of ſmelting in the different parts of our iſland. We are aſſured that there have been, at different times, ſmelting-works for a century or two paſt in the pariſhes of *Flint* and *Hawarden*; and at preſent there is one in uſe in each of them.

I ſhall take this opportunity of mentioning incidentally the other minerals of *Great Britain*, taken notice of by the antients, either as articles of trade or matters of curioſity.

Tin. Tin was not only the firſt metal in theſe iſlands which we read of, but alſo the greateſt object of commerce; and which originally led to the diſcovery of *Great Britain* by the *Romans*. The mercantile *Phœnicians* traded to the *Scilly* iſlands, the *Caſſiterides*, or land of tin, from the port of *Cadiz*, four hundred years before CHRIST. The *Romans*, for a conſiderable ſpace, could not diſcover the place from whence the former procured the precious metal. They attempted to detect the trade, by following the courſe of a *Phœnician* veſſel; but the maſter, faithful to the intereſt of his country, voluntarily run his ſhip aſhore in another place; preferring the loſs of all, rather than ſuffer a foreign nation to become partakers of ſo profitable a ſecret. The public immediately compenſated his loſs out its treaſury.

* *Eddii vit. Wilfridi*, in *Gale* iii. 59.

† *Ingulphi* Hiſt. apud *Cambden*. Script. poſt *Bedem*. 888.

ry. This did but make the *Romans* more eager for the diſcovery; and after many trials, ſucceeded. *Publius Craſſus* (father of *Marcus Craſſus* the *Triumvir*) who was prætor, and governed *Spain* for ſeveral years, landed in the *Caſſiterides*, and found the report of their riches verified *.

As ſoon as the *Romans* made a conqueſt of the country, they formed in the tin province camps and roads, ſtill viſible; and left behind vaſes, urns, ſepulchres, and money, that exhibit daily proofs of their having been a ſtationary people in thoſe parts †; and that *Dunmonium* extended even to the *Belerian* promontory, or the Land's-end; and was not, as ſome writers imagine, limited by the weſtern parts of *Somerſetſhire*.

It is not to be imagined, that they could neglect a corner of our iſland, productive of a metal ſo uſeful in mechanics as tin, and which it yielded in ſuch plenty, as to receive from that circumſtance the name. So great was the intercourſe that foreign nations had with the inhabitants bordering on *Belerium*, as to give them a greater *ſçavoir vivre*, and more extenſive hoſpitality, than was to be found in other parts of the iſland. They were equally expert in working the mines, and preparing the ore, which lay in earthy veins within the rocky ſtrata. They melted and purified it, then caſt it into rows of cubes, and carried it to *Ictis*, the modern Iſle of *Wight*: from thence it was tranſported into *Gaul*; conveyed from the place, it was landed at, on horſes backs, a journey of thirty days, to the mouth of the *Rhone*,

* *Strabo*, lib. iii. p. 265.

† *Borlaſe*, *Antiq. Cornwall.* p. 278. to 309.

Rhone, and then to the *Maſſylians*, and the town of *Narbon* *.

With tin the *Romans* made mirrors; lined their veſſels of braſs to prevent its deadly effects †; made pewter, and from that a variety of domeſtic veſſels; and, by the combination of other metals, formed a ſubſtance that mimicked ſilver ‡: ſo that a country, abundant in ſo uſeful an ore, would never be neglected by theſe wiſe people.

Copper. Did not *Cæſar* and *Strabo* agree in their account, I ſhould never have believed it was poſſible that the *Britons* could have neglected their rich mines of copper, and have been obliged at firſt to have imported that metal. Perhaps the ore was leſs acceſſible, and the art of fuſion unknown; for iſlands, from their very ſituation, muſt remain longer ignorant of arts than continents; eſpecially ours, which lay far to the weſt of the origin of all ſcience.

STRABO ſays, that they imported works of braſs; but it is as certain, that they afterwards did themſelves fabricate that metal into inſtruments. The *Celts*, a *Britiſh* inſtrument, was made in this iſland. Numbers have been found in *Yorkſhire* and in *Eſſex* §, together with cinders, and lumps of melted metal; which evince the place of a forge. We cannot aſcertain the period when the *Britons* had the art of adding the mixture of lead ‖ that is found combined with them; or whether they learned it from their

* *Diodorus Siculus. Ed. Wechel*, 1604. pp. 209, 218.
† *Plinii*, lib. xxxiv. c. 17. ‡ Ibid.
§ *Borlaſe, Antiq.* 265, 266.
‖ *Plinii*, lib. xxxiv. c. 9.

their conquerors, who were fully poſſeſſed of the art of fuſing this, as well as other metals, is unknown. The *Romans* had their founderies of copper in our iſland; and caſt the metal into regular forms. A maſs was found at *Caer hên*, the antient *Conarium*, four miles above *Conway*, which probably was ſmelted from the ore of the *Snowdon* hills; where of late years much has been got. This maſs is in ſhape of a cake of bees-wax; and on the upper part is a deep concave impreſſion, with the words SOCIO ROMÆ; acroſs theſe is impreſſed obliquely, in leſſer letters, *Natſol.* I cannot explain it, unleſs *Nat.* ſtands for *natio*, the people who paid this ſpecies of tribute; and *ſol.* for *ſolvit*, that being the ſtamp-maſter's mark. Theſe cakes might be bought up by a merchant reſident in *Britain*, and conſigned SOCIO ROMÆ, to his partner at *Rome*. The weight of this antiquity is forty-two pounds; the diameter of the upper part eleven inches; the thickneſs in the middle two and three quarters *.

CALAMINE, the *Cadmia* of *Pliny* †, and the ſtone-*Cadmia* of *Strabo* ‖, abounds in the mineral parts of this iſland. The *Romans* knew its uſes in making of braſs; therefore cannot be ſuppoſed to have overlooked ſo neceſſary an ingredient. The remains of the braſs-founderies, diſcovered in our kingdom, ſhew, that they were acquainted with it. The knowlege of this mineral in after-ages was long loſt. Before the reign of *Elizabeth*, much was imported from *Sweden*; but at that period it was diſcovered again in the *Mendip* hills; and, fortunately, at the ſame time that the working of the Calamine

* Tab. ix. This curious antiquity is preſerved at *Moſtyn*.
† Lib. xxxiv. c. 10. ‖ Lib. iii. 248.

the copper-mines in thoſe of *Cumberland* was renewed. Our county abounds with it; but, till within theſe ſixty years, we were ſo ignorant of its value, as to mend our roads with it.

Iron. CÆSAR and *Strabo* * allow that we had iron. The firſt ſays that it was rare; for bits of it paſſed for money by weight. In *Strabo*'s days it was found in greater plenty; for he mentions it among the articles of exportation. Immenſe beds of iron-cinders are to this day found in the foreſt of *Dean*, the reliques of the *Romans*; others in *Monmouthſhire*; another was diſcovered near *Miſkin*, the ſeat of *William Baſſet*, Eſq; beneath which were found a coin of *Antoninus Pius*, and a piece of earthen ware †; and finally, others in *Yorkſhire* ‡, alſo accompanied with coins: all which evince the frequency of iron-founderies during the period of the *Roman* reign in *Britain*. Theſe cinders are not half exhauſted of their metal; for the *Romans* knew only the weak powers of the foot-blaſt. They are now worked over again, and are found to yield a more kindly metal than what is produced from the ore. Theſe beds are ſuppoſed to be almoſt inexhauſtible; a proof of the vaſt founderies of early times.

Gold. Gold and ſilver are enumerated § among the products of *Great Britain*. The *Romans* were acquainted with this; and our precious metals proved another incentive to their ambition to effect our conqueſt. *Agricola*, in his oration to his ſoldiers before the battle of the *Grampian* mountain, excites them to victory, by reminding

* *Cæſar Com.* *Strabo*, lib. iv. p. 305.

† *Archælog.* ii. 14. ‡ *Yarranton*'s Improvements, 57. *Leland, Itin.* i. 144. vi. 102. *Cambden*, ii. 722.

§ *Strabo*, lib. iv. p. 305.

reminding them of our riches, the reward of valour. *Fert* BRITANNIA, *aurum et argentum, et alia metalla pretium victoriæ* *.

These metals have, in later times, been got in quantities sufficient to prove, that they might, in earlier times, be an object worthy of conquest. In the reigns of *James* IV. and V. vast wealth was procured in the *Lead Hills*, from the gold collected from the sand washed from the mountain. In the reign of the latter, not less than three hundred thousand pounds *Sterling*. In another place, a piece of thirty ounces weight was found. Much was also obtained in the time of the Regent *Morton* †. The search is now given over; but still bits are found accidentally. Lord *Hopton*, owner of the *Lead Hills*, is in possession of one that weighs an ounce and a half.

Gold is to this day found in *Cornwall*, mixed with tin and other substances ‡. The largest piece that has been yet discovered, is equal in weight to three guineas. It is probable that it was the *Cornish* gold which proved the lure to the *Romans*; for it was impossible they or the *Phœnicians* could be ignorant of it, who had such long commerce with the country, and who were acquainted with the manner of obtaining it in other places. *Pliny*, speaking of tin, says, that there is found in the gold mines of *Spain* and *Portugal*, a sort called *Elutia*, (which a *Cornish* man would call *stream tin*) being washed from

* *Vita Agr.*

† Tour in *Scotland*, ii. 130. iii. 414.

‡ *Borlase*, Nat. Hist. *Cornwall*, 213, 214.

the vein by water, and was gathered up in baſkets along with the gold *.

Silver. STRABO and *Tacitus* agree, that we had mines of ſilver. In the reigns of *Edward* I. and III. there were very conſiderable works at *Combmartin* in *Devonſhire* †: three hundred and thirty-ſeven miners, ſent for out of *Derbyſhire*, were employed in them; and the produce was ſo great as to aſſiſt *Edward* the third to carry on the war with *France*. In the beginning of this century, much native ſilver was found on the eſtate of Sir *John Erſkine*, in the county of *Stirling*; but the vein was ſoon exhauſted.

The BRITONS were acquainted with the uſes of gold and the art of coining before the arrival of the *Romans*; witneſs the golden ſickles of the *Druids*, the coins found at *Carnbre* in *Cornwall*, and the coins of *Caſſivelaunus*. They made uſe of different ſorts of metals; but moſtly of gold, being the eaſieſt fuſed, and moſt capable of an impreſſion. Doctor *Borlaſe* has preſerved a ſeries of theſe very early coins, from the rudeſt and moſt unintelligible impreſſions, to the period when the *Britons* made an attempt to form a face on their coins. All theſe are unlettered; a proof of their antiquity, and of their having been ſtruck before their intercourſe with the *Romans*. The firſt we know of, which is inſcribed, is that of *Caſſivelaunus*, cotemporary with *Cæſar*. The next is of *Cunobeline*, who had even been at

* Lib. xxxiv. c. 16. To prevent antiquaries being further miſled about the *Ampthill* gold mine, I muſt inform them, that it proved only a bed of *mica aurea*; or, to ſpeak like a punſter, turned out nothing but *talc*.

† *Cambden*, i. 47.

at *Rome*. As ſoon as the *Britons* became acquainted with the *Romans*, they made an eſſay to imitate their manner of coining; they put letters on them, elephants, and gryphons; things they were before unacquainted with. They were not ſuffered to make any progreſs in the art; for as ſoon as their conqueſt was effected, their coin was ſuppreſſed. The learned have endeavoured to trace theſe ancient monies from the *Phœnicians*; but the compariſon would not hold. The *Gauls* alone had ſome pieces ſimilar: nor is this to be wondered at, ſince they and the *Britons* had a common origin, were neighbours, and might as well agree in the few arts they had, as in religion and language *.

I now return to the ſubjects which occaſioned this digreſſion; and to give ſome account of the various antique inſtruments and coins found near *Flint*; and accompany the ſame by the more expreſſive deſcription, a print.

No. 1. tab. viii. is a rich ornament of gold in form of a button with a ſhank. It is compoſed elegantly with twiſted wire, and ſtudded with little globular bits of ſolid gold. This ſeems to have belonged to the bracelet or necklace (it is uncertain which), whoſe fragment is repreſented at N°. 2. This is alſo compoſed of gold links, with round beads of a rich blue glaſs placed between every ſecond link. Something ſimilar to this is preſerved by count *Caylus*, which is entire, and appears to have been a necklace †.

* *Borlaſe's Antiq. Cornwall*, 242. tab. xix.

† Tom. iii. 312. tab. lxxxv.

N°. 3. is a cylindric fragment of glaſs, probably part of ſome ornament, being of a rich blue colour, and perforated as if it were deſigned to be ſtrung. With it was found a thick piece of ſea-green glaſs, part of a vaſe. Glaſs was among the earlier imports into *Britain**, when the wild natives were as much captivated with toys as the *Indians* of new-diſcovered countries are at preſent. At firſt they received theſe, and all their other vitreous commodities, by means of the *Phœnicians*, whoſe capital, *Tyre*, was pre-eminent in that manufacture. The *glain nadroedd*, or ſnake-gems, were at firſt obtained by way of exchange for the *Britiſh* exports. They were originally made by the *Britons* of ſtone. I have ſuch a one in my cabinet. I have ſeen another in poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. *Hugh Davies*, found in *Angleſea*. The traders ſoon learned to imitate what was prized ſo high in our iſland, in a more elegant material; and imported them as a moſt captivating article of commerce; in the ſame manner as circumnavigators often mimic, in ſhewy braſs, the utenſils and weapons of *Indian* nations, in order to engage their friendſhip.

N°. 4. is a ſmall brazen head, with the back part affixed to iron. Perhaps this was one of the *Sigillaria*, or little images ſold at the fairs, and preſented uſually to children †: and the fairs where theſe toys were ſold went by the ſame name. A learned friend alſo ſuppoſes theſe to be miniature likeneſſes, which friends preſented to each other as memorials.

N° 5.

* *Strabo*, 305.

† Non cognoſcis me? ego ſum *Felicio*, cui ſolebas ſigillaria afferre, SENECA, Epiſt. 12.

N° 5. is a *Stylus*, or inſtrument for writing on the *ceratæ tabellæ*, or waxen tablets; which were made of thin leaves of lead, braſs, or ivory, and covered with a thin coat of wax. The pen, if I may call it ſo, was uſually of braſs; one end pointed, in order to write; the other flatted, in order to efface what was wrong, by ſmoothing or cloſing the wax. *Horace* gives every writer moſt excellent advice, in alluding to this practice:

Sæpe *Stylum* vertas. iterum quæ digna legi ſint,
Scripturus.

Oft turn your ſtyle, when you intend to write
Things worthy to be read.

N° 6. is an inſtrument of very ſingular uſe: a narrow ſpecies of ſpoon, deſtined to collect, at funerals, the tears of the relations of the deceaſed, in order to depoſit them in the little phials which were placed with the aſhes in the urn, memorials of their grief. Such are very frequently found: but the cuſtom is far higher than that of claſſical antiquity; for the PSALMIST, in expreſſing his ſorrows, alludes to it; THOU *telleſt my flittings; put my tears into thy bottle.*

N° 7. is an inſtrument ſeemingly deſigned for the purpoſe of dreſſing the wicks of lamps.

N° 8. may poſſibly be deſtined for the ſame uſes.

N° 9. is a brazen bodkin.

N° 10. is a *fibula* or brotche, gilt, and enameled with deep blue in front.

N° 11.

N° 11. is a brotche, not unlike ſome uſed at preſent by the common Highlanders; whoſe dreſs, in its genuine ſimplicity, ſeems to have been borrowed from the *Romans*.

N° 12. is alſo a ſpecies of button; but differs from the modern (as do all I have ſeen) by having no ſhank: inſtead, was a tongue, ſimilar to thoſe of the common *fibulæ*. The front of this is enamelled with deep blue.

N° 13. is another, of a very different form. This has alſo loſt its *fibulæ*; but the defect is very apparent.

N° 14. is a *forceps*; an inſtrument much in vogue among the *Romans*, for extirpating hairs. This was uſed for the ſame purpoſe as the *Turkiſh* fair do the *Ruſma*. The pincers here engraven are of great ſize and ſtrength; perhaps uſed by ſome robuſt coxcomb, ſuch as *Perſius* rallies ſo ſeverely, in his fourth ſatire, for his unbecoming effeminacy.

N° 15. 15. ſeem to have been inſtruments of ſacrifice. One end of each is round, and of the form of an olive; and was intended for the uſe of the *aruſpices*, to inſinuate under the entrails of the victim, and to lift them up for the better inſpection of the parts. The other extremity of the longer is formed into a ſpoon, for the purpoſe of putting the frankincenſe into the cenſer.

According to the uncertainty that reigns reſpecting the uſes of the antient inſtruments, I may hazard another conjecture, that they have been chirurgical inſtruments. The rounded ends were the probes; the hollow end of the longer, the ſpoon by which the balm was poured into the wound. The metal of which theſe inſtruments were made, proves,

as count *Caylus* remarks *, that the *Romans* had no apprehenſions of its dangerous qualities. It is probable, that they had the art of tempering the metal ſo as to prevent the noxious effects.

N° 16. is a braſs nail. Antiquaries may rejoice that the *Romans* preferred this metal to mouldering iron, which has preſerved to them many a delicious morſel.

N° 17. tab. ix. is one of thoſe *Bullæ*, or amulets, called *Ithyphallus*, in form of a heart, with a figure (in which decency was little conſulted) on the upper part. Theſe were ſuſpended from the necks of children, and originally deſigned to preſerve them from the effects of envy; afterwards from all kinds of evil †. I cannot help thinking, that the good nurſes had another view, that of attracting (in years of maturity) the affections of the fair towards their little favourite.

Hunc optent generum Rex & Regina; puellæ
Hunc rapiant. Quicquid calcaverit hic, Roſa fiat.

Wherever he treads let there riſe up a roſe,
And the ladies die for him wherever he goes.

For it is well known, the obſcene god, in all times, had his votaries among both ſexes.

Theſe

* Recueil d'Antiquites, iv. 169.

† Pueris turpicula res in collo quædam ſuſpenditur, ne quid obſit bonæ ſcæve cauſa.

VARRO de Ling. Lat. vi.

These amulets also represented the god *Fascinus*, synonymous with that Deity. *Pliny** relates, that he was not only the guardian of infants, but of the emperors themselves; that the very vestals worshipped him; and the victors placed him (the physician of Envy) beneath their triumphal cars.

N° 18. is a locket with a hole at one end, in order to suspend it round the neck, or fasten it to the wrist. This, perhaps, was designed to hold a charm; and the holes on one side intended that the contents should transpire, and reach the object of fascination; whether of love; whether of ambition.

N° 19. a key; which gives one no very high idea of the elegance of the *Roman* locksmiths.

N° 20. is one of a nicer form, and which served both for a ring and key. It possibly was designed for the cabinet of a *Roman* lady or some *Bellus homo*.

N° 21. two rings; one of brass, the other of silver wire.

N° 22. a brazen weight belonging to a mason's levelling-instrument, answerable to a modern plummet.

N° 23. another of lead, belonging to a fishing-net.

N° 24. the tongue of an ordinary *fibula*.

These are the subjects I thought most worthy of engraving: but there were multitudes of other things found in the same place; but almost all of them so mutilated or injured by time, as to be rendered quite unintelligible.

On

* Lib. xxviii. c. 4.

On leaving *Flint*, I took the road to *Halkin*; and immediately on quitting the town, began to aſcend the ſteep ſlope of the county, fertile, and incloſed to the very edge of the mountain, which was parallel with the ſhore. The proſpect improves the whole way; and from the heights expands to the north-eaſt and ſouth, into an almoſt boundleſs one. The eſtuary of the *Dee* appears beneath, with the city of *Cheſter* at its extremity. The peninſula of *Wiral*, a naked contraſt to our country, limits the eaſtern ſide of our ſea; and the weſtern of the *Merſey*, rich in the commerce of *Leverpool*; beyond which ſtretches the great county of *Lancaſhire*, varying with plains and hills. The mountains of *Yorkſhire* and *Derbyſhire* unite to bound the VALE ROYAL of *England*; and the rich and wooded tract about *Northop* and *Hawarden*, with its neighbouring mountains, bring relief to the eye, tired with the contemplation of the far remote views. Fine Proſpect.

This is but part of the magnificent terrace formed by the public road, that is continued from *Hawarden* to *Clynnog* in *Caernarvonſhire*, varying continually with matchleſs changes of ſcenery.

The firſt place of any note which occurs in the pariſh of *Halkin*, is a hamlet of a number of houſes, called the *Pen-tre*, or hamlet; a name in *Wales* common to all ſuch aſſemblages of dwellings, where there is no church; to diſtinguiſh it from *Llan*, where the place of devotion ſtands. This took its riſe in the preſent century, and was much increaſed by the concourſe of miners, on the diſcovery of a rich vein in the adjacent fields. Halkin.

Almoſt

Almoſt contiguous, lies *Halkin* mountain; a vaſt tract, in the pariſh of the ſame name, and in thoſe of *Northop*, *Skeiviog*, and *Holywell*.

The ſurface is common: the mineral the property of Lord *Groſvenour*, by virtue of a grant, made in 1634, to his anceſtor, Sir *Richard Groſvenour* knight, by *Charles* I. of all the mines of lead or rakes of lead, within the hundred of *Coleſhill* and *Rhudland* *. Theſe tracts were before ſet on leaſes for a certain term of years. Thus *James* I. grants that term to *Richard Gwynne*, on payment of the annual acknowldgement of ſixty-ſix ſhillings and eight pence; and a new one was granted in 1629, by a warrant from lord treaſurer *Weſton*, to *Richard Groſvenour*, Eſq; *Roger Groſvenour* his ſon, and Mr. *Thomas Gamul*, for their joint lives, paying the uſual rent, and a fine of ten pounds §.

I apprehend that this grant, and another ſimilar, of the minerals in *Bromfield* and *Yale*, made to the ſame gentleman, are the firſt alienations of this nature from the crown; which, for many centuries after the Conqueſt, aſſumed the entire claim of all mines and minerals, by virtue of the royal prerogative. Sir *John Pettus* ‡ has preſerved a ſeries of grants, from the reign of *Edward* I. to that of *Henry* VII. in which they empower different perſons to ſcarch for ore. Some of them are confined to particular counties, others to the kingdom in general: and the only prohibition is that of working beneath caſtles or houſes; in gardens or meadows; the owners of which were to be indemnified in all damages they might ſuſtain. *Richard* II. is the firſt prince who makes a general

* *Harleian* MSS. No. 2002. 9.
§ Ibid.
‡ *Fodinæ Regales*, from p. 11. to 19.

neral allowance. In his letters patent to *Richard Wake*, clerk, for ſearching for mines of gold and ſilver in the county of *Devon* for ten years, the adventurer had power to dig (paying damage to the owner of the ground) as well within liberties as without; and to pay one-tenth of the profit to the Holy Church, and a ninth into the exchequer.

This is not the firſt inſtance of the application of the tithe of ore to religious uſes: *Edward* I. directs the ſame proportion to be paid to the parochial churches in *Wales*, out of the neighbouring mines*. The abby of *Baſingwerk* had alſo a revenue ariſing from the ſame ſource†.

I cannot find that the owner of the ground, in caſe the mine was diſcovered in private property, was permitted to have any ſhare of the profit, till the fifth of *Henry* VI. (1426); when the duke of *Bedford*, regent of *France*, received a ten years leaſe of all the mines of gold and ſilver in the kingdom of *England*, paying to Holy Church a tenth, to the king a fifteenth, and to the lord of the ſoil the twentieth part. This allotment, though ſmall, is a proof of the juſtice and moderation that guided the actions of the protector of *Henry*'s infant years.

Theſe regal grants were for every ſpecies of metal, excepting iron; for gold and ſilver, copper, tin and lead, and all other metals containing gold and ſilver. Theſe two were the great object; yet the grants do not preclude the royal claim to the baſer kinds.

During this reign, the art of refining, or the ſeparation of metals from the ore, was made the

* *Rotuli Walliæ* (Sir *Joſeph Ayloff*'s) 75.
† *Tanner*'s Notit. Monaſt. 711.

the ground of an impoſture common enough in after times. There are not fewer than four inſtances of perſons undertaking the tranſmutation of the baſer metals into pure gold and ſilver; each of whom received the royal protection *, to prevent them from being interrupted in their operations: for certain malevolent people ſuppoſed they uſed unlawful arts, *i. e.* the art magic. In a ſuperſtitious age, this ſuſpicion might have proved fatal to the projectors; who wiſely aſſumed the moſt religious term for their myſtery, to obviate the malice of their enemies. The metals were not to be tranſmuted, but *tranſubſtantiated* †; for they had great reaſon to imagine, that the believers of the word in the religious ſenſe, would hardly contradict the feaſibility of the project in the temporal meaning. Beſides, they were to act under the guiſe of piety; for the adept

> muſt be *homo frugi*;
> A pious, holy, and religious man,
> One free from mortal ſin, a very virgin ||.

We hear nothing of the event of theſe undertakings; but imagine they ended like all others of that

* *Rymer's Fœdera*, xi. 68. 128, 240, 309.

Henry IV. had paſſed an act, that "none ſhall uſe to "multiply gold or ſilver, nor uſe the craft of multiplica-"tion; and if any the ſame do, that he incur penalty of "felony." This was aimed at perſons, who, under pretence of tranſmutation, counterfeited the nobler metals. But afterwards it was found a check on the metallurgic art; as it extended even to the puniſhment of any ingenious refiner, who had diſcovered the method of getting more gold and ſilver out of the baſer kinds than was known before, which occaſioned the repeal of the act, in the firſt year of *William* and *Mary*, c. 30.

† Ibid. || *Ben Jonſon's* Alchemiſt

that nature. The bubble did not die with this weak prince; for in 1476, we find that *Edward* IV. gave the ſame encouragement to one *David Beaupe* and *John Marchaunt*, to have for four years *facultatem et ſcientiam philoſophiæ artificialem naturalem generationis a mercurio in aurum faciendo, et ſimili modo a mercurio in argentum*: the liberty of changing *mercury* into gold and ſilver *. We hear no more of theſe impoſtures till the reigns of *Elizabeth* and *James* I. when they were moſt ſucceſsfully revived †.

EDWARD continued the mineral grants to ſeveral great men; among others to the earl of *Warwick*, the earl of *Northumberland*, and his brother *Richard* earl of *Gloſter*. The farm was now encreaſed; they were to pay the king an eighth neat profit, the lord of the ſoil the ninth, and the curate of the place the tenth.

In the ſhort and turbulent reign of *Richard* III. no attention was paid to concerns of this kind; but his ſucceſſor, *Henry* VII. in his very firſt year, diſcovered his ruling paſſion, avarice, by immediately appointing *Jaſper* duke of *Bedford*, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, to be governors of all his mines in *England* and in *Wales*, paying to the king the fifteenth § of the *pure* gold and ſilver, and to the lord of the ſoil the eleventh, *as it grows*.

ELIZABETH was the firſt of our princes who laid the foundation for our mineral ſucceſs, and for

* *Rymer*, xii. 28.

† Vide Life of Doctor *Dee*, *Ben Jonſon's* Alchemiſt, &c.

§ *Moſes Stringer*, author of *Opera Mineralia explicata*, calls it the *fifth*, which ſuits better the character of that monarch.

for all the vaſt manufactures that aroſe in conſequence. I read, that in 1452, *Henry* VI.*, (poſſibly on diſcovery of the impoſture of metallic tranſmutations) had ſent for, out of *Hungary*, *Auſtria*, and *Bohemia*, three experienced miners, and thirty aſſiſtants, to work his mines; ſo unſkilled were the *Engliſh* at that time. The civil wars, which broke out immediately after, fruſtrated this wiſe meaſure. *Elizabeth* reſumed it, being too quick-ſighted not to ſee into the defects and wants of her kingdom. She not only adopted it, but improved on the plan. Our knowlege of minerals was almoſt extinguiſhed, and of courſe the manufactures which depended on them. We imported our ſwords, our knives, ſtirrups, bits, and even our pins, out of *Germany*, through the channel of the *Netherlands*. Our works of braſs, and even our wire, excepting a ſmall quantity which was worked by hand, were of foreign fabrick. The firſt ſtep taken by this politic princeſs, was to forbid the importation of theſe and ſeveral other articles, from parts beyond ſea §: the next, was to invite into her kingdom foreign miners, foreign ſmelters, and foreign artificers of metallic productions.

She next formed a corporation, under the title of THE SOCIETY FOR THE MINES ROYAL. The firſt governor was *William* earl of *Pembroke*: ſeveral men of rank were joined in the commiſſion as aſſiſtants, and ſeveral citizens, and ſome foreigners of known experience in theſe matters. She likewiſe framed the ſame members into another corporation, which naturally depended on the former, *viz.* the SOCIETY FOR THE MINERALS AND BATTERY WORKS. Theſe

* *Rymer*, xi. 317. § Statute 5th *Elizabeth*, c. 7.

Theſe corporations were founded on *May* the 28th, 1567.

Some progreſs had been made, a few years before, for the procuring materials for theſe new manufactures; for in 1563, ſhe had granted the mines of eight counties, beſides thoſe in *Wales*, to *Daniel Houghſetter*: in 1564, ſhe made another grant to *Cornelius Devoſſe*; and a third in the ſame year, more comprehenſive than all, to *Chriſtopher Shutz*, of all mines, minerals, and ſubterraneous treaſures, (except copperas and allum) which ſhall be found in all other parts of *England* (not mentioned in the former patent) or within the *Engliſh* pale in *Ireland*, by the name of gold, ſilver, copper, tin, lead, quickſilver, *cadmian* ore, or *lapis calaminaris*; and all manner of ewres or oares, ſimple or pure, mixt or compounded for latten wire or ſteel, *&c.* To each of theſe patentees an *Engliſhman* was joined.

It is worth obſerving, that the crown, in moſt of theſe grants, lays abſolute claim to all mines whatſoever, under a notion that they are royal mines; yet the prerogative could only be entitled to ſuch which yielded gold and ſilver. The origin of this pretence aroſe from the king's right of coinage, in order that he might have the requiſite materials; which would have confined him to the two noble metals. But until the happy period arrived when our conſtitution was eſtabliſhed, and the royal and the private property juſtly diſtinguiſhed, the ſubject was too weak to aſſert his rightful claim. ELIZABETH herſelf was too fond of the darling prerogative (even with all her boaſted love to her people) to reſign this part. Her patent to *William Humfrey* and *Chriſtopher Shutz* is worded in the moſt unlimited

ed manner; for it notonly gave them power to ſink ſhafts whereſoever they pleaſed (gardens, *&c.* excepted), but to build houſes requiſite to carry on the works, not only upon the royal demeſnes, but in the grounds of any of her ſubjects. The ſpirited *Percies*, in the perſon of *Thomas* earl of *Northumberland*, firſt withſtood this invaſion of his right. He conteſted with the crown the title to the copper mines in his manor of *Keſwick*; but the lawyers decided againſt him, alledging, that although the crown had a power to grant away its manors, it had not the power to alienate the mineral, being perfectly linked to the prerogative of the crown.

But, as uſual, the gentlemen of the long robe had two opinions reſpecting this point; ſome aſſerting, that if any gold or ſilver was found in the mines of baſer metal, the whole would belong to the king; which, in fact, was beſtowing all the mineral property on the crown, there being ſcarcely any baſe metal but what holds ſome particles of the nobler: others again, in a future reign, qualified this by ſaying, 'That although the gold or ſilver con-'tained in the baſe metal of a mine, in the 'hands of a ſubject, be of leſs value than the 'baſe metal, yet if the gold or ſilver do coun-'tervail the charge of refining it, or be of more 'worth than the baſe metal ſpent in refining 'it, THIS IS A ROYAL MINE; and as well the baſe 'metal as the gold and ſilver in it, belong to 'the prerogative of the crown *.'

Such was the ſtate of the royal claim; ſo diſcouraging to the induſtry of the ſubject, till the great

* This opinion was given in 1640, 1641, and ſubſcribed by *Maynard*, *Glanville*, and others, the firſt lawyers of the time.

great event of the REVOLUTION; when the crown, in the first year of *William* and *Mary*, fully gave up all pretensions to the mines of copper, tin, iron, and lead, notwithstanding gold or silver may be extracted from them in any quantities. By a following act, this right was again confirmed; only the crown reserved to itself a power of purchasing, within thirty days after raising, all ores made merchantable, at the following rates: copper at 16 *l.* *per* ton, tin at 40 *l.* lead at 9 *l.*; and in default of such payment, the owners were at liberty to dispose of their ore as they pleased. Thus, as Mr. BLACKSTONE * observes, the private owners were not discouraged from working mines, through a fear that they may be claimed as royal; neither does the king depart from the just rights of his revenue, since he may have all the precious metal contained in the ore, paying no more for it than the value of the base metal is supposed to be; to which base metal the land-owner is by reason and law entitled.

Some account of the ores and fossils of the mineral tract, which gave rise to this digression, will be given when I cross it again in the course of my journey.

From *Pentre Halkin*, I pursued my journey along the *Chester* road: and pass by the *Llan*. The church is dedicated to St. *Mary*; is a neat small edifice, lately re-built, partly by a brief, partly by subscription. It stood on the site of a church, mentioned in Doomsday-book. At the Conquest, this tract bore the name of *Alchene*, from which the present name is taken. *Brynffordd*, a township now in the parish of

* COMMENTARIES, 4to, i. 294.

Holywell, and a place called *Inglecroft*, at that time were joined to it. Doomſday-book ſays, that here was a church and a preſbyter, and three boors; a mill of five ſhillings annual value; and a wood half a league long, and forty perches broad; the whole valued at ten ſhillings.

The old *Britiſh* name of this place (ſtill retained by the *Welſh*) is *Lugan*, from a ſaint, known, I believe, only in the *Welſh* calendar.

About two or three miles farther, in a woody moraſs on the left hand, are the foundations of an antient pile, called *Llys Edwin*, or *Llys Llan Eurgain*, originally the ſeat of *Edwin ap Gronw*, lord of *Tegangle*, about the year 1041. It continued in the family till the death of a deſcendant of his, *Howel Gwynedd*, who loſt his life in the cauſe of *Glendwr*; when his forfeited eſtates were beſtowed by *Henry* IV. on one *Bryan Saxton*. His poſterity poſſeſſed them till the 17th of *Henry* VI. who granted them to Sir *John Stanley*, groom of the bedchamber*. They afterwards became the property of a younger branch of the *Stanleys*, and remained in their poſſeſſion in the laſt century. I find a Sir *Edward Stanley* of *Flint* †, married to a daughter of *George* lord *Stanley*, about the latter end of the reign of *Henry* VII. who probably was owner of this place.

Moel y Gaer. I muſt not paſs unnoticed a ſtrong *Britiſh* poſt, which ſoars above the road, about two miles to the right. It lies on the ſummit of a hill, and is furrounded with a great foſs and dike

* Hiſtory of the houſe of *Stanley*, 28.

† *Collins*'s Peerage, ii. 453.

dike of a circular form, with an entrance as usual to such places; and a small artificial mount within the precinct; a *tribunal cespititium*, from whence our antient heroes might deliver their *araith* or *allocutio*, to animate their followers against the invading strangers. This post is called *Moel y Gaer*, or the hill of the fortress; a name common to several others of similar use. This seems to have been an outpost of the *Ordovices*, in order to defend their country against the *Roman* invaders. We shall, towards the end of the volume, have occasion to mention the chain of posts along the *Clwydian* hills, from that next to the sea, to remote and internal parts. Our ancestry disputed the possession of their country by inches. Here they lodged their wives and children; to these places they drove their cattle out of the low country: they established in each numerous garrisons ready to sally forth and repel the foe; or to defend all that was dear to them, should the invaders be hardy enough to attack them in their intrenchments.

In later times, this spot proved fatal to a valiant partizan of *Owen Glendwr*. *Howel Gwynedd* (whom we lately mentioned) was surprized in a negligent hour, within this post, and there beheaded.

NORTHOP, a little town, lies next on the road. It bears the addition of *North*, to distinguish it from the other *Hope*. The *British* name is *Llan Eurgain*, from St. *Eurgen*, daughter of *Maelgwn Gwynedd*, *ap Cadwallon Law-hir*, *ap Einion Yrth*, *ap Cunedda Wledic*, &c. who died in 586. Northop.

The church is dedicated to St. *Peter*. The body is long and embattled; the tower lofty and handſome. Within are three effigiated tombs; one of a fat knight, whoſe name is loſt, and figure much injured by time. Another of a ſhort warrior, completely armed, and in good preſervation: on his ſhield is a croſs *pattée*, charged in the middle with a mullet between four others. The inſcription is thus, *Hic jacet Ith. Vach. ap Bledd Vach.* I ſuſpect him to have been a captain of *Ingleſield*, mentioned in the pedigree of the *Humphreyſes* of *Bodlwyddan*, and ſaid to have been interred here. The third is of a lady, inſcribed *Llewc* * * * *, and *anno domini* 1402. According to tradition, her name was *Lleuci Llwyd*, a celebrated beauty of that period; perhaps the ſame who was beloved by a noted bard, who coming to viſit her after long abſence, met with the ſame ſhock as the *Chevalier de Ranee* did; for each found their beloved in her coffin. The bard fainted at the ſight, revived, and compoſed an elegy on her. The *Chevalier* retired from the world, and founded the abby of *La Trappe*, famous for its religious auſterities.

Eulo Caſtle. Between the eighth and ninth ſtone, about a quarter of a mile out of the *Cheſter* road, are the ruins of *Eulo* caſtle, placed on the edge of a deep wooded dingle. It is a ſmall fortreſs, conſiſting of two parts: an oblong tower, rounded at the ſide, and guarded on the acceſſible places by a ſtrong wall at ſome diſtance from it: an oblong yard, with the remains of a circular tower at its extremity, forms the other part. The towers are now finely overgrown with ivy, and command the view of three wooded glens, deep and darkſome, forming a moſt gloomy ſolitude.

In

In the woods near this place, called to this day *Coed Eulo*, part of the flower of the army detached by *Henry* II. in 1157, from his camp on *Saltney*, was ſurprized and defeated by *David* and *Conan*, the ſons of *Owen Gwynedd*, ſent by their father with a ſtrong party from his camp near *Baſingwerk*. They ſuffered the enemy to march along to the ſtreights of the country, till their forces were entangled in the depth of woods, and the ſteeps of the narrow vallies, ſo frequent in theſe parts. The attack was ſudden, fierce, and unexpected: the ſlaughter dreadful: and the purſuit carried even to *Henry*'s encampment *. This proved but a prelude to the *Engliſh* of a ſecond defeat. The king, with an intent to repair the diſgrace, marched forward with his whole army; and at *Coleſhill*, near *Flint*, ſuffered himſelf to be engaged in the ſame difficulties as his detachment experienced before. His forces were again defeated; and *Euſtace Fitz John*, a baron firſt in rank, wealth, and abilities among the *Engliſh*; and *Robert de Courci*, another great baron, with numbers of others, were ſlain. *Henry de Eſſex*, hereditary ſtandard-bearer, and a man of approved valor, was ſeized with a panic; and flinging down the ſtandard, cried out, that the king was killed †. The rout would have been general, if the king had not valiantly rallied his forces, and repulſed the *Welſh*: but in the end, he thought it prudent to withdraw his army, and encamp in a ſecure ſtation. It probably was on the elevated ground of the townſhip of *Coleſhill*, at *Gadlys*, a name

Battle.

Battle of Coleſhill.

* *Powel*, 207. † *Guil. Neubrig*, lib. ii. c. 5. This is the author whom the *Welſh* call *Gwillim Bach*. *Brompton*, 1048.

a name significant of the circumstance, *palatium castrense*, or the royal head-quarters. He afterwards attempted to cut off the retreat of *Owen Gwynedd*, by marching along the shore, and getting between him and the mountains; but the wise prince, penetrating into his views, retired to a plain near St. *Asaph*, still called CIL-OWEN, or *Owen's retreat*; and from thence to a strong post, named *Bryn y Pin*, defended by great ramparts and ditches. This camp lies in the parish of St. *George*, on a lofty rock above the church, and is now called *Pen y Parc*.

BRYN DYCHWELWCH *, or the eminence on which *Owen* pronounced the order, RETREAT! by its name preserves the memory of the circumstance. It lies over *Pentre Bagilt*, below *Gadys*, and is supposed to have been the spot from which he retired to *Cil-Owen*.

A circumstance, consequential of this battle, proves, that the report of *Edgar*'s having extirpated the race of wolves out of the principality, was erroneous. A young *Welshman*, killed in this battle, was discovered eight days after, attended by his faithful dog, who remained by the corpse the whole time, without food, and defended it from being the prey of birds and wolves §.

There is no sort of tradition about the founder of the castle of *Eulo*. Whether it might not have been built by one of the lords of *Tegangle*, or whether it was erected by *Henry* to prevent a similar disaster, by placing a garrison here,

* *Bryn*, a hill; *Dychwelwch*, return.

§ *Girald. Cambr. Itin.* lib. ii. c. 10. p. 873.

here, I will not pretend to determine. It has been for centuries in ruin; for *Leland* ſpeaks of it as 'a ruinous caſtle or pile, belonging to 'Hoele, a gentleman of *Flyntſhire*, that by aun-'cient accuſtume was wont to give the bagge 'of the ſylver harpe to the beſte harpir of *North* 'Walys, as by a privelege of his anceſtors *.' The antiquary adds, 'that he dwellith at *Pen-'rine* in *Flyntſhire*.' We know of no ſuch place in the county; but ſuſpect that the gentleman intended was *Thomas ap Richard ap Howel*, lord of *Moſtyn*, in whoſe family that privilege was long inveſted; that gentleman having been cotemporary with *Leland*.

The manor of *Eulo* was in the crown in the 26th of *Henry* VIII. who granted it to *Peter Stanley* eſquire, gentleman of his houſhold, with the tolls of the market of *Flint* ‡. In the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, it was held by *Edward Stanley*, by payment of 20*l.* 10*s.* a year §. At preſent it is in poſſeſſion of *John Davies* eſquire, of *Llanerch*. Manor.

Within this lordſhip are very conſiderable potteries of coarſe earthen-ware; ſuch as pans, jugs, great pots for butter, plates, diſhes, ovens, flower-pots, *&c.* There are fourteen works, which make annually between three and four thouſand pounds worth. The ware is moſtly exported to *Ireland*, and the towns on the *Welſh* coaſt; particularly to *Swanſey*. There are beſides ſix other works, for the making of fire-bricks, few clays being better fitted for the purpoſe of reſiſting the intenſe heat of the melting-furnaces. Theſe are made of different Potteries

* *Leland Itin.* v. 56. ‡ *Harleian* MSS. N°. 1968. 10.
§ The ſame, No 1970. 7.

rent sizes; and some of those which are called bearers weigh two hundred pounds. Great quantities of tiles for barn-floors, and for rooms, are also made here; and the annual sale of these two articles amounts to about twelve hundred pounds.

This clay is of a deep ash-colour; is found in beds of a great thickness; and is dug up in hard lumps, resembling a shaley rock; after which it is left for a considerable time exposed to the air, in order to effect its dissolution. The bricks made with it are set in the lead-furnaces with the unburnt clay, instead of mortar.

I must not leave the parish of *Northop* without visiting the maritime parts, which stretch along the channel of the *Dee*. We find there the names of certain townships taken notice of in Doomsday-book; *Lead-brook*, *Normanized* into *Lathroe*, from the *Anglo-Saxon*, *Læd*, and *Broca* either from the quantity of lead washed out of it, or from the smelting-works established on it. This township, after the Conquest, was held by *Robert* of *Rhudland*.

ULFMILTONE was another, now known by the name of *Golftyn*.

WEPRE, another township, was held by *William de Malbedeng*, from the church of *Chester*. It is twice mentioned in Doomsday book; and is said to have had on it a wood a league and a half long. In one place mention is made of two villeyns and two boors: in another, of one villeyn and a *radman*; and that it had been possessed by one *Ernui*, a freeman. Of late years, a very handsome pier has been built by the river *Dee* company in this township, jutting into the channel, for the protection of

the ſhips bound to or from *Cheſter*, under which they may take ſhelter in bad weather or adverſe winds.

From hence I aſcended to *Hawardin*, a ſmall town, flouriſhing under the auſpices of its lord, Sir *John Glynne* baronet. I ſhall ſpeak firſt of the manor and caſtle. The laſt forms a moſt pictureſque object, ſoaring above the woods. This place, like moſt others in our county, bears two names, *Pennard halawg*, perhaps corrupted from *Pen y Llwch*, or *the head land above the lake*; *Saltney*, and the other ſubjacent marſhes having once been covered by the ſea. The other name is *Saxon*, as we find it written in Doomſday book, *Haordine*; at which time it was a lordſhip; had a church, two *Carucæ* or ploughlands, half of one belonging to the latter; half an acre of meadow; a wood two leagues long and half a league broad. The whole was valued at forty ſhillings; yet on all this were but four villeyns, ſix boors, and four ſlaves: ſo low was the ſtate of population. Hawarden.

It is probable, that this place had been a *Britiſh* poſt, oppoſed to the country of the *Carnavii*, and to the invading *Romans*. To the weſt of the church, in a field adjoining to the road, is a mount called *Truman's* hill, within a piece of ground which appears to have been ſquared, and nicely ſloped. This evidently had been a ſmall camp, whoſe figure had been much obliterated by the frequency of agriculture. It ſtood on the brow of the hill, and commanded a full view of the country. Another mount, called *Conna's Hê*, is to be ſeen near *Broadlane* houſe. The *Roſt*, an eminence (overlooking another flat) with foſſes, and an exploratory mount, lying in the pariſh of Roman.

Gresford,

Gresford, was another; and at *Caer-Eſtyn*, a fourth. We ſhall find occaſion to ſpeak more of theſe in the courſe of our journey.

Saxon. The *Saxons* poſſeſſed themſelves of every ſtrong hold which the *Britons or the Romans* had deſerted. Some they retained, others they neglected, as the policy of the new invaders, and the neceſſity of the ſituation, required. This, before the Conqueſt, was a chief manor, and the capital one of the hundred of *Atiſcroſs*. On the invaſion of *William*, it was found in the poſſeſſion of the gallant *Edwin*, and probably was one of the places of his reſidence. It was a cover to his *Mercian* dominions againſt the *Britons*, the natural and inveterate enemies of the *Saxon* race.

Norman. On the Conqueſt, it was comprehended in the vaſt grant made to *Hugh Lupus*. It afterwards devolved to the barons of *Mont-alto*, or *Mold*, which they held by ſtewartſhip to the earls of *Cheſter*, and made it their reſidence *.

Genealogiſts † tell us, that *Roger Fitz-valerine*, ſon of one of the noble adventurers who followed the fortunes of *William* the conqueror, poſſeſſed this caſtle; and having frequent conteſts with the *Welſh*, often ſaved himſelf by retreating to it; and from that cirumſtance it was called *Howard's Den*. But, with high reſpect to all the blood of all the *Howards*, it does not appear that their name was then known: with more probability does their hiſtorian ſay, that *William*, ths ſon of *Fitz-valerine*, received the addition of *de Haward* or *Howard*, from the accident of being born in this place.

On

* *Cambden*, ii. 826.

† *Collins*'s Peerage, i. 48.

On the extinction of the ancient earls of *Cheſter*, to prevent that honour from being, according to the expreſſion of the time, *parcelled out among diſtaffs*, this, as well as the other fortreſſes, were reſumed by the crown. In 1264, *Llewelyn*, prince of *Wales*, had a conference at this place * with *Simon de Montfort*, the potent earl of *Leiceſter*, where they eſtabliſhed peace between *Cheſhire* and *Wales*, in order to promote their reſpective deſigns; and in the year following, on *June* the 22d, *Montfort* obliged his captive monarch to make an abſolute ceſſion to the *Welſh* prince, not only of this fortreſs †, but of the abſolute ſovereignty of *Wales*, and the homage of its barons, heretofore paid to *Henry*. After the ſuppreſſion of *Leiceſter*'s rebellion, *Hawarden* relapſed to the crown. I muſt obſerve, that in 1267, in the pacification brought about by the Pope's legate *Ottoboni*, between *Henry* and *Llewelyn*, it ſeems as if the caſtle had been deſtroyed; for, among other articles, *Llewelyn* agrees to reſtore to *Robert de Montalto*, his lands in *Hawarden*, and reſtrains him from building a caſtle there for thirty years ‡; probably it was deſtroyed by *Llewelyn* himſelf, who foreſaw the impoſſibility of his keeping a fortreſs ſo near the *Engliſh* borders. This caſtle muſt ſoon have been rebuilt; for I find in 1280 it was ſtyled *Caſtrum Regis*.

Ceded to Llewelyn ap Gryffydd.

Relapſes to the Crown.

That year was diſtinguiſhed by the general inſurrection of the *Welſh*, under their prince *Llewelyn* and his brother *David*; the great effort of our gallant countrymen to preſerve their liberties and ancient mode of government. The

* *Annales Ceſtrences*, quoted by *Carte*, ii. 151.
† *Rymer*, i. 814. ‡ Idem. i. 845.

The attempt was begun by *David*, at that time newly reconciled to his brother, on *March* 22d, in a ſtormy night, which favoured his deſign. He ſurprized this caſtle; put the garriſon to the ſword, and wounded and took priſoner *Roger de Clifford*, juſticiary of *Cheſter*. After the death of *Llewelyn*, and the ſubjection of *Wales*, *David* ſuffered for this in a moſt ſevere and diſtinguiſhed manner; being the firſt in *England* who died as a traitor in the way in uſe at thistime. He was a prince of a moſt unamiable character equally perfidious to his brother, his country, and to *Edward*, his benefactor and protector. In the writ for his trial (which was before the whole baronage of *England*) *Edward* enumerates his kindneſſes to him in this pathetic manner: 'Quem ſuſceperamus exulem, 'nutriveramus orphanum, ditaveramus de pro-'priis terris noſtris, et ſub alarum noſtrarum 'chlamide foveravimus, ipſum inter majores 'noſtri palatii collocavimus *.' The laſt proved his greateſt misfortune. He might have pleaded exemption from the *Engliſh* juriſdiction, and flung a ſtrong odium on the tyranny of the conqueror, had he not accepted a barony, a ſeat among the *Engliſh* peers. He was in the ſame ſituation as the duke of *Hamilton* in later times; who denying the power of the court, was told that he was not tried as a *Scotch* peer, but as earl of *Cambridge*, a peerage beſtowed on him by his unfortunate maſter.

Surprized by David ap Gryffyd.

DAVID was condemned to four ſpecies of puniſhment; to be drawn by a horſe to the place of execution, as a traitor to the king who had made a knight of him; to be hanged for murdering *Fulk Trigald*, and other knights, in

* *Rymer*, ii. 248.

in this caſtle; for his ſacrilege in committing thoſe murders on *Palm-Sunday*, his bowels were to be burnt; and finally, his body was to be quartered, and hung in different parts of the kingdom, becauſe he had in different parts conſpired the death of the king *.

We find nothing more of this place till the year 1327, the firſt of *Edward* III. †, when *Robert*, the laſt baron of *Montalt*, (for want of iſſue) paſſed this manor, and his other great poſſeſſions, to *Iſabel* the queen-mother; but on her diſgrace, it fell again to the crown.

In 1337, the king granted the ſtewartſhip of *Cheſter*, with *Hawarden*, &c. to *William Montacute* earl of *Saliſbury*; but as *Iſabel* retained a life-intereſt in the grant, he procured her releaſe of it, for the ſum of ſix hundred marks. It continued in his family till the death of his great nephew, *John* earl of *Saliſbury*; who was beheaded by the townſmen of *Cirenceſter*, after an unſucceſsful inſurrection, in 1400, in favour of *Richard* II. his depoſed maſter. *Saliſbury* had before granted his eſtates in fee to *Thomas Mountague* dean of *Sarum*, *Lodowick de Clifford*, *John Venour*, and *Richard Hertcombe*, and their heirs: but after his attainder, by act of parliament 7th *Henry* IV. they became forfeited to the king. Granted to the earl of Saliſbury.

In 1411 it was granted, by patent from *Henry* IV. to his ſecond ſon *Thomas* duke of *Clarence*; but in 1414, the 2d of *Henry* V. *Thomas* earl of *Saliſbury*, ſon to *John*, petitioned for annulling the former ſentence: his ſuit was referred to another parliament, and then diſmiſſed. 1411.

* *Carte* ii. 195.

† *Dugdale, Baron.* i. 527.

dismissed. *Henry* then made to *Clarence* another grant, in which the former was declared
1420. to be invalid. In this the advowson of the living is also given.

To Sir Thomas Stanley.

CLARENCE was slain at the battle of *Baugy*, in 1420, and died without issue. *Hawarden* returned to *Henry* V. and from him to his son *Henry* VI. who, in 1443, granted it to Sir *Thomas Stanley*, comptroller of his household, and to the heirs male of his body: but in 1450, it was resumed; and in the next year granted, together with *Mold*, to *Edward* prince of *Wales*. On this occasion *John Hertcombe* claimed *Hawarden* at the time of his forfeiture; and on this plea obtained a privy seal to enquire into it. An inquisition was taken; his plea was found to be good; and restitution was made. This *John Hertcombe* levied a fine to Sir *Richard Strangeways* knight, *&c.* and *John Needham*, to the use of *John Needham* and his heirs.

In 1454, a fine was levied to *Richard Nevill* earl of *Salisbury*, and *Alice* his wife (daughter to *Thomas Montacute*, the great earl of *Salisbury*) and Sir *Thomas Stanley* knight, afterwards lord *Stanley* *, to the use of *Thomas Stanley*, and the heirs male of his body; on condition, that if *Thomas Stanley* do sell, or suffer discontinuance, or if he die without issue male, it is lawful for the said *Richard* earl of *Salisbury*, or the heirs of *Alice* his wife, to re-enter. On the death of Lord *Stanley*, the fee descended to his son and heir *Thomas*, afterwards earl of *Derby*; and after his decease, to his second wife, *Margaret* countess of *Richmond*,

* He had married *Elinor*, daughter of *Richard* earl of *Warwick*.

mond and mother to *Henry* VII. That monarch, in 1495, honoured the place with a viſit, and made ſome reſidence here for the amuſement of ſtag-hunting: but his primary motive was to ſoothe the earl her huſband, after the ungrateful execution of his brother Sir *William Stanley*.

On the death of *Magaret*, *Hawarden* deſcended to *Thomas* earl of *Derby*, grandſon to the late earl; and continued in his family till the execution of the gallant *James* earl of *Derby*, in 1651: ſoon after his death, it was purchaſed from the agents of ſequeſtration, by ſerjeant *Glynne*. On the reſtoration, the Lords made an order, on the 17th of *July*, 1660, that the earl of *Derby*'s, and ſeveral other lords eſtates, which had been ſold in the late uſurpation, without their conſents, ſhould be repoſſeſſed by them without moleſtation *. This induced *Glynne* to make an offer to the earl, of the ſurrender of *Hawarden*, for a leaſe of three lives †. The propoſal was either rejected, or not immediately accepted: the conſequence of which was, the loſs of the whole to the *Derby* family. The Lords, reſentful of the indignities their order had experienced in the late troubles, began with an attempt to obtain reparation to one of the greateſt ſufferers. In the *December* of the ſame year, they ſent down to the Commons a private bill, for the reſtoring to *Charles* earl of *Derby*, all the manors, lands, *&c.* which belonged to his late father. This was ſtrongly oppoſed; and the bill was laid aſide,

* *Drake*'s Parliam. Hiſt. xxii. 384.
† Account communicated to me by Sir *John Glynne*.
‡ *Drake*, xxiii. 50.

aſide, without ever coming to a ſecond reading * The earl was then glad to compound with the ſerjeant for the property of this place, and granted it to him and his heirs; in whom it ſtill remains.

It appears by theſe proceedings, as if the parliament was fearful of the conſequences of even an act of juſtice; for, during the long troubles, there had been ſuch vaſt change of property, effected by ſuch variety of means, that it was apprehended, that the enquiry into the cauſes, and the diſpoſſeſſion of numbers who had quietly enjoyed ſuch property from their fathers, might be attended with the moſt inflammatory conſequences. It is likewiſe probable, that many of the members might be intereſted in the event; therefore, were determined to ſtop at once any proceeding that might tend to affect the fortunes of themſelves or friends. Numbers of ſales were made by the loyaliſts themſelves, under the influence of fear. They were content to receive a trifle for the purchaſe, rather than loſe the whole by violence; for there were very few who had not incurred a premunire under the ruling powers; which they were glad to get clear of by a ſeemingly voluntary ſale. When they were thus diſappointed in the hope of re-enjoyment of their fortunes, they laid the blame on the king, and invented the calumny of his rejecting this bill, after it had been paſſed unanimouſly by both houſes.

During the civil wars, this caſtle ſuffered the uſual viciſſitudes of fortune. It was firſt poſſeſſed by the parliament, and kept for its uſe till the year 1643, at which time a ceſſation of arms being agreed to, on the part of the king,

Beſieged in 1643.

* *Drake*, xxiii. 53.

when the *Iriſh* rebels, a number of the forces were drawn from *Ireland*, and landed at *Moſtyn* in this county, in the month of *November*. Theſe were immediately employed to reduce the caſtle of *Hawarden*. The garriſon received by a trumpet, a verbal ſummons; which gave occaſion to the following letters between lieutenant colonel *Marrow*, and *John Warren* and *Alexander Elliot*, the commanders on the part of the parliament. I omit the immediate anſwer to the ſummons, written in the religious ſtrain affected by the party; which *Marrow* replies to like a true *Cavalier*.

'GENTLEMEN,

'It is not for to hear you preach that I am ſent 'here; but in his majeſtie's name to demand 'the caſtle for his majeſtie's uſe: as your al-'legiance binds you to be true to him, and not 'to enveigle thoſe innocent ſouls that are 'within with you; ſo I deſire your reſoluti-'tion, whether you will deliver the caſtle or 'no?"

The rejoinder from the caſtle was to this effect:

'SIR,

'We have cauſe to ſuſpect your diſaffection 'to preaching, in regard we find you thus 'employed. If there be innocent ſouls here, 'God will require their blood of them that 'ſhed it. We can keep our allegiance and 'the caſtle too; and therefore you may take 'your anſwer, as it was in *Engliſh* plain enough 'before: we can ſay no more, but GOD's will 'be done *.'

* *Ruſhworth* II. part iii. 300.

Theſe letters had at the time but little weight. Captain *Thomas Sandford*, leader of the Firelocks, determined to fright them into ſubmiſſion by the terror of his name, or perſuade them to terms by the powers of his pen; and thus addreſſes the obſtinate commandants.

'GENTLEMEN,

'I preſume you very well know, or have 'heard, of my condition and diſpoſition; and 'that I never give or take quarter. I am now 'with my Firelocks (who never yet neglected 'opportunity to correct rebels) ready to uſe 'you as I have done the *Iriſh:* but loth I am 'to ſpill my countrymen's blood; wherefore, 'by theſe I adviſe you to your feilty and obe-'dience towards his majeſty; and ſhew your-'ſelves faithful ſubjects, by delivering the caſ-'tle into my hands for his majeſty's uſe; in 'ſo doing, you ſhall be received into mercy, '*&c.* otherwiſe, if you put me to the leaſt 'trouble or loſs of blood to force you, ex-'pect no quarter for man, woman, or child. 'I hear you have ſome of our late *Iriſh* army 'in your company: they very well know me; 'and that my Firelocks uſe not to parley. 'Be not unadviſed; but think of your liberty; 'for I vow all hopes of relief are taken from 'you; and our intents are not to ſtarve you, 'but to batter and ſtorm you, and then hang 'you all, and follow the reſt of that rebellious 'crew. I am no bread-and-cheeſe rogue, but, 'as ever, a loyalliſt, and will ever be, while 'I can write or name

'*Nov.* 28, 1643. 'THOMAS SANDFORD,
'Captain of Firelocks.

'I ex-

'I expect your ſpeedy anſwer this *Tueſday* 'night, at *Broad-Lane-Hall*, where I am now, 'your near neighbour.'

'To the officer commanding in chief at *Haw-* '*arden* caſtle, and his concerts there.'

All this eloquence would have been flung away, had not more forces on the ſide of the king, and want of proviſions on that of the garriſon, co-operated with this valiant epiſtle. So, as *Ruſhworth* ſays, 'after a fortnight's ſiege, 'and much ink and little blood ſpilt, the caſ- 'tle being in want of proviſions, was ſurren- 'dered to Sir *Michael Earnley*, on condition to 'march out with half-arms and two pair of co- 'lours, one flying, and the other furled; and 'to have a convoy to *Wem* or *Nantwyche*.'

The royaliſts kept poſſeſſion of it till after the ſurrender of *Cheſter* to Sir *William Brereton* in 1645; when, on *March* 17th, O. S. it was taken by major-general *Mytton*, after a month's ſiege. At that time Sir *William Neal* was governor, who declined to give it up till he had obtained his majeſty's permiſſion *. On the 22d of *December*, it was by a vote of parliament ordered to be diſmantled, with four other caſtles in this part of *North Wales* †. Theſe orders extended only to the rendering it untenable; but the farther deſtruction was effected by the owner, Sir *William Glynne*, the firſt baronet of the name, between the years 1665 and 1678.

Again in 1645.

Diſmantled.

The remains are a fine circular tower or keep, on the ſummit of a mount. This alone is pretty entire. Nothing except this, and a few

Deſcribed.

* MS. at *Maſtyn*.

† *Whitelock*, 231.

few walls, and the foundations of ſome rooms, exiſt at preſent; which Sir *John Glynne* has, with great pains, laid open by the removal of the rubbiſh. In one place was diſcovered a long flight of ſteps, at the bottom of which was a door, and formerly a draw-bridge, which croſſed a deep long chaſm (nicely faced with freeſtone) to another door leading to two or three ſmall rooms. Probably they were places of confinement, where priſoners might be lodged with the utmoſt ſecurity, after pulling up the bridge over the deep chaſm that intervened between them and open day.

The ſeveral parts of this fortreſs ſeem to have been built at different times. It is ſurrounded with deep foſſes, now filled with trees. In 1665, the timber of the park and demeſne was valued at five thouſand pounds, and was ſold in that century; but the preſent owner will have the merit of reſtoring it many-fold to the next, by the vaſt plantations he has made.

Rectory. The living is in the gift of the lord; who preſents; and the biſhop of *Cheſter* inducts. The rector does all epiſcopal acts, except thoſe of ordination and confirmation; and has a peculiar exempt juriſdiction: grants licences, regiſters and proves wills; and has his court and his proctors.

The living is at preſent eleven hundred pounds a year; and, in proportion as the ſubjacent lands are cultivated, will experience a far greater improvement.

The church is a plain but handſome building, kept in neat and decent repair. The parſonage-houſe is new, and ſuitable to the revenue. The garden is very prettily laid out, upon a high and commanding ground.

The

The pariſh receives two hundred a year from the river *Dee* company. This was granted by act of parliament, in conſideration of eight hundred acres of land, belonging to *Hawarden*, incloſed on the north ſide of the river, for the uſe of the adventurers in the navigation. This ſum is to be paid to the lord of the manor and other truſtees; and is applicable to any uſes which any five (with the conſent of the lord) ſhall agree on. Parochial Revenue.

In *Broadlane*, the manſion-houſe, built by the preſent baronet in 1752, are four portraits of great merit, part of the collection of Sir *Kelemn Digby*. They repreſent the evangeliſts with their reſpective attributes; ſeemingly the production of *Valentine*, a *Frenchman* *, who ſtudied the ſtyle of *Carravaggio*. Theſe are in his beſt manner. The attitudes are fine; and the lights and ſhadows moſt admirably diſpoſed. They are half lengths; a ſize that his great model excelled in. Pictures.

Among the family portraits, are two of the chief juſtice *Glynne*, the able, political lawyer of the reign of *Charles* I. and the ſucceeding uſurpation. He was of the houſe of *Glynllivon* of *Caernarvonſhire*; which derives itſelf from *Cilmin-Troed-ddu*, or *Cilmin* with the black foot, one of the fifteen tribes, and cotemporary with, and nephew to, *Merfyn Frych*, prince of *Wales* in the year 818.

Sir JOHN GLYNNE was born at *Glyn-llivon* in the year 1602; his father was Sir *William Glynne* knight; his mother a *Griffith* of *Caernarvon*. His education was after the beſt mode. His ſchool Chief Juſtice Glynne.

* He died 1632. A gentleman well ſkilled in prints tells me, that theſe four pictures were engraven by *Rouſſelet*.

ſchool was that of the college at *Weſtminſter*; his academic learning was inſtilled into him at *Hart-hall, Oxford*; and his knowlege of the law at *Lincoln's-Inn*, where he became a bencher. His abilities were immediately diſcovered by the popular party, by whoſe influence he was made ſteward of *Weſtminſter*, recorder of *London*, and twice elected member for the former, in the two parliaments of 1640. He was, next to *Pym*, the moſt active manager againſt the earl of *Strafford*. The unfortunate peer remarked, that *Glynne* and *Maynard* treated him like advocates; *Palmer* and *Whitelock* like gentlemen; and yet omitted nothing material that could be urged againſt him *. The author of *Hudibras* ſeems to catch at this part of the character of theſe two great lawyers:

> Did not the learned *Glynne* and *Maynard*,
> To make good ſubjects traitors, ſtrain hard?

In the caſe of *Strafford*, and in that of the impeachment of the twelve biſhops, they acted on principle. This appears evident from the proſecution they afterwards underwent, for the noble ſtand they made againſt the ruin of the conſtitution, planned, and afterwards effected by the army. On *September* the 8th 1647, they were expelled the houſe, committed to the Tower, and had a charge of high-treaſon brought againſt them †. *Glynne* ſoon determined to ſubmit to the riſing powers. In the next year, he was reſtored to his place in the houſe; appointed one of the ten commiſſioners

* *Whitelock*, 43.

† Parliament. Hiſt. xvi. 294. 512.

miſſioners for carrying on the treaty with the king in the iſle of *Wight*; and voted by the houſe to be a ſerjeant at law in the new call it thought fit to make. He, as well as the artful *Whitelock*, evaded all concern in the trial of the king: but afterwards temporized fully with the powers in being. *Cromwel* ſoon made him one of his council. In 1654, he was conſtituted chamberlain of *Cheſter*: in the following year, was, (on the refuſal of the chief juſtice *Rolles*) ſent into the weſt with a commiſſion to try colonel *Penruddock*, and the other inſurgents *. *Rolles* loſt his place for his ſcruples; and in his room the ſerjeant was rewarded with the office of lord chief juſtice of the upper bench. He was grateful to his patron; for, being appointed of the committee to receive the protector's ſcruples about being made king, he urged the acceptance with the utmoſt zeal. It is amuſing to compare the change of ſentiment, from the year 1648, when the kingly office was voted to be unneceſſary, burthenſome, and dangerous, with the opinion of 1657, when the learned ſerjeant tells *Cromwel*, that it is eſſential to the ſettlement of the nation †. Notwithſtanding the uſurper did not dare to aſſume the name, he mimicked the powers; and honoured his advocate with calling him up by writ into his houſe of peers; that motley aſſembly of the year 1657. The prudent lawyer maintained his ground till the year of the reſtoration, when, by a maſter-piece of cunning, he publiſhed in octavo, the arguments he had uſed to prevail with his former maſter to mount the throne, under the title of MONARCHY *aſſerted to be the beſt, the moſt antient, and* legal form

* *Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 386. † Parliament. Hiſt. xxi. 90.

form of government. How flattering muſt this have been to the rightful prince, to find the antient mode acknowledged as moſt eligible (even after the long abuſe of it in his family) by one of the ableſt ſupporters of the protectorate?

Whether this recommended him to the new government, or whether he had made his peace before, is not certain. He was received by *Charles* with diſtinguiſhed marks of favour, who not only knighted him, but beſtowed on him the honour of prime ſerjeant, and even created his eldeſt ſon a baronet. In the convention parliament, he was elected for the county of *Caernarvon*; and was appointed one of the committee for examining the acts paſſed during the late uſurpation, which were inconſiſtent with the preſent government; and how the many fines, recoveries, *&c.* made in the late courts of law, might be confirmed and rendered good. He had likewiſe a concern in the act of general pardon, and in all others in which the aſſiſtance of an able lawyer was requiſite *.

He retired from the houſe in the following parliament; and lived till the year 1666, when he died in *London*, and was interred in his own vault, beneath the altar of St. *Margaret*'s church, *Weſtminſter*.

From *Broadlane* the land begins to ſlope towards the *Dee*. At the bottom, between the fifth and ſixth ſtone from *Cheſter*, lies *Broughton*, formerly the property of the *Ravenſcrofts*, and afterwards that of the *Hopes*. At the Conqueſt it was called *Brochetune*; and was held of *Hugh Lupus*, by *Robert de Roelent*, or *Rhudland*.

* *Drake*'s Parliam. Hiſt. xxii. 416.

land. *Levenot*, a freeman, poſſeſſed it before. *Robert* alſo had a manor here, once held by a *Saxon* of the name of *Ulmer*.

Cloſe to the village of *Breton*, lies the long marſh of *Saltney*, which reaches within about a mile of *Cheſter*. It is at preſent divided by a moſt excellent road, by whoſe ſide runs a ſmall canal, cut by Sir *John Glynne*, for the conveyance of his coal into the *Dee* near the city. This tract was formerly granted, by *Robert* lord of *Mold*, to the monks of *Baſingwerk*, for paſturage; he alſo gave them the ſame privilege in *Hawarden*, and the liberty of cutting ruſhes for thatching their buildings *.

The principal part of this common lies in *Flintſhire*. The boundary is marked by a ſtone near the eaſt end. It extends conſiderably on both ſides. From the right flows the *Leeches*, a ſmall brook, riſing a little beyond *Doddleſton*. That place lies out of my route; yet I mention it, as the place of interment of that honeſt chancellor *Egerton* lord *Elleſmere*, who preferred it out of affection to his mother, a native of this village.

Another circumſtance leads me to name this pariſh, humiliating as it is to a *Welſhman*; for at *Balderton* bridge our countrymen met with a cruel defeat from *Hugh Cyvelioc* earl of *Cheſter*; who, by way of trophy, made a rampart of their heads.

At the extremity of *Saltney*, within a mile of *Cheſter*, the land riſes ſuddenly. On the left-hand of the aſcent are conſiderable hollows, with correſpondent elevations: one has the appearance of a round baſtion; which makes me conjecture, that they might have been works deſigned to command this paſs into the country

* *Harleian* M S. No. 2099. 9.

try of the *Ordovices*; for it points towards *Varis*, *Conovium*, and *Segontium*.

CHESHIRE,

Cheſter. A part of the country of the *Cornavii*, commences on the flat beneath this bank. The road is continued along the ſmall common of *Over-leigh*, and ends at *Han-bridge*, the ſuburbs of *Cheſter*, on this ſide of the river, belonging to the pariſh of St. *Mary*.

The acceſs to the city is over a very narrow and dangerous bridge, of ſeven irregular arches, rendered more inconvenient by the antient gateways at each end, formerly neceſſary enough, to prevent the inroads of my countrymen, who often carried fire and ſword to theſe ſuburbs; which were ſo frequently burnt, as to be called by the *Britons Tre-boeth*, or the burnt town.

I ſhall begin my account of this reſpectable city, by declining the honour of aſſerting it to have been of *Britiſh* foundation, notwithſtanding I have the authority of *Ranulph* the *Monk*, and of *Henry Bradſhaw*, another religious of this city.

The founder of this city, as ſaith *Polychronicon*
Was *Leon Gaure*, a mighty ſtrong gyant;
Who builded caves and dungeons many a one,
No goodly building, ne proper, ne pleaſant.
But king *Leir*, a *Britain* fine and valiant,
Was founder of *Cheſter* by pleaſant building,
And was named *Guer-leir* by the king *.

* *Bradſhaw*'s Life of St. *Werburg*.

Yet

Yet this legend does not err greatly from the right name, *Caer Lleon*, the camp of the legion. *Caer Lleon, vawr ar ddyfr Dwy*, the camp of the great legion on the *Dee*, being the head quarters of the twentieth legion, ſtyled alſo *Valeria* and *Victrix*. This legion came into *Britain* before the year 61; for it had ſhare in the defeat of *Boadicea* by *Suetonius*. After this victory, the *Roman* forces were led towards the borders of *North Wales*, probably into this county. Afterwards, by reaſon of the relaxed ſtate of diſcipline, a wing had been cut off by the *Ordovices*, juſt before the arrival of *Agricola*; but the quarters of theſe troops at this period are not exactly known. It is probable that part at leaſt were on the *Deva*; that he collected a few of his forces, and began his march againſt the enemy from this place; and that, after his ſucceſsful expedition into *Mona*, he determined to fix here a garriſon, as the fitteſt place to bridle the warlike people he was about to leave behind him. In conſequence, he fixed part of the legion here, and detachments in the neigbouring poſts, before he ventured on the diſtant expedition to *Scotland*, into which he led part, as appears from the inſcriptions; which prove that a *vexillatio* of this legion was concerned in building a portion of the *Roman* wall. In order to encourage the troops he left behind, he formed here a colony; and the place was ſtyled from them, and from its ſituation, *Colonia Devana*, as is proved by the coin of *Septimius Geta*, ſon of *Severus*, which was thus inſcribed:

Caer Lleon.

Mona, &c.

Devana.

COL. DEVANA *leg.* XX. VICTRIX.

It

and Deva. It was alſo called ſimply *Deva*, from the river which waſhed one ſide;

The antient hallowed DEE.

Four chief Streets. The form of the city evinces the origin to have been *Roman*, being in the figure of their camps; with four gates; four principal ſtreets; and variety of leſſer, croſſing the others at right angles, dividing the whole into leſſer ſquares. The walls, the precincts of the preſent city, mark the limits of the antient. No part of the old exiſt; but they ſtood, like the modern, on the ſoft freeſtone rock, high above the circumjacent country, and *eſcarpè* on every front.

Excavated. The ſtructure of the four principal ſtreets is without parallel. They run direct from eaſt to weſt, and north to ſouth; and were excavated out of the earth, and ſunk many feet beneath the ſurface. The carriages are driven far below the level of the kitchens, on a line with ranges of ſhops; over which, on each ſide of the ſtreets, paſſengers walk from end to end, ſecure from wet or heat, in galleries (or The Rows *rows*, as they are called) purloined from the firſt floor of each houſe, open in front and baluſtraded. The back-courts of all theſe houſes are level with the rows; but to go into any of theſe four ſtreets, it is neceſſary to deſcend a flight of ſeveral ſteps.

Theſe rows appears to me to have been the ſame with the antient *veſtibules*; and to have been a form of building preſerved from the time that the city was poſſeſſed by the *Romans*. They were built before the doors, midway between the ſtreets and the houſes; and were

the places where dependents waited for the coming out of their patrons *, and under which they might walk away the tedious minutes of expectation. *Plautus*, in the third act of his *Moſtella*, deſcribes both their ſituation and uſe:

Viden' veſtibulum ante ædes, et ambulacrum ejuſmodi?

The ſhops beneath the rows were the *cryptæ* and *apothecæ*, magazines for the various neceſſaries of the owners of the houſes.

The ſtreets were once conſiderably deeper, as is apparent from the ſhops, whoſe floors lie far below the preſent pavement. In digging foundations for houſes, the *Roman* pavement is often diſcovered at the depth of four feet beneath the modern. The leſſer ſtreets and allies, which run into the principal ſtreets, ſloped to the bottoms of the latter, as is particularly viſible in *Bridge Street*; but theſe are deſtitute of the galleries or rows.

Great Vaults,

It is difficult to aſſign a reaſon for theſe hollowed ways. An antient hiſtorian mentions the exiſtence, in his days, of certain vaults and paſſages, of which not a trace, not even the leaſt memory is left, notwithſtanding the moſt diligent ſearch and enquiries have been made. *In this cyte*, ſays the author of the *Polychronicon*, *ben ways under erthe, with vowtes and ſtone-werke wonderly wrought; thre-chambred werkes. Grete ſtones I grave with old mennes names*

* De ſignif. vocab. *Vitruv.*

names therein. There is alſo JULIUS CESAR's *name wonderly in ſtones grave, and other noble mennes names alſo, with the wrytyng about*; meaning the altars and monumental inſcriptions; but he probably miſtakes the name of *Julius Cæſar* for that of *Julius Agricola*; to whom, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, ſome grateful memorial was erected. Unleſs theſe hollowed ſtreets were formed by the void left after the deſtruction of theſe great vaults, I can no more account for their formation, than for the place which thoſe antient *Souterrains* occupied. None have ever been diſcovered, by the frequent ſinking of cellars for new buildings on the ſite of the old; tradition has delivered no ſuch accounts to us; nor is their exit to be traced beneath the walls in any part of their circumference. The only vaults now known, are of a middle age, and which belonged either to the *hotels* of the great men, or to the religious houſes diſperſed through the city.

now loſt.

The eaſt Gate, Roman.

Of the four gates of the city, one of them, the *Eaſt gate*, continued till of late years; of *Roman* architecture, and conſiſted of two arches, much hid by a tower, erected over it in the later days. A few years ago it was pulled down, on account of its ſtraitneſs and inconveniency, to give way to a magnificent gate, which roſe in its place by the munificence of lord *Groſvenor*. I remember the demolition of the antient ſtructure; and on the taking down the more modern caſe of *Norman* maſonry, the *Roman* appeared full in view.

It conſiſted of two arches, formed of vaſt ſtones, fronting the *Eaſt-gate* ſtreet and the *Foreſt* ſtreet; the pillar between them dividing the ſtreet exactly in two. The accurate repreſentation

ſentation of them by Mr. *Wilkinſon*, of this city, will give a ſtronger idea of them than words can convey; as alſo of the figure of the *Roman* ſoldier, placed between the tops of the arches facing the *Foreſt* ſtreet.

This ſpecies of double gate was not unfrequent. The *Porta eſquilina* *, and the *Porte porteſe* † at *Rome*, were of this kind. *Flores*, in his medals of the *Roman* colonies in *Spain* ‡, exhibits one of the coins of *Merida*, the antient *Emerita*, particularly on thoſe of *Auguſtus*: which ſhews, that the coloniſts were proud of their gate; and perhaps not without reaſon, as it appears to have been the work of the beſt age. I muſt conclude, that the mode ſeems to have been derived from the *Grecian* architecture; for at *Athens* ſtood a *Dipylon*, or double gate, now demoliſhed §.

The gate in queſtion faced the great *Watling ſtreet road*, and near the place where other military ways united. Through this was the greateſt conflux of people; which rendered the uſe of the double portal more requiſite.

The *Roman* bath beneath the *Feathers Inn*, in *Bridge ſtreet*, is probably ſtill entire; but the only part which can be ſeen, by reaſon of the more modern ſuperſtructures, is the *Hypocauſt*. This is of a rectangular figure, ſupported by thirty-two pillars, two feet ten inches and a half high, and about eighteen inches diſtant from each other. Upon each is a tile eighteen inches ſquare, as if deſigned for a capital; Hypocauſt.

* *Montfaucon*, III. part ii. p. 177.
† *Nardini*, *Roma Anticha*, p. 37.
‡ P. 384. tab. xxi. xxii. xxiii.
§ As I have been informed by my friend Mr. *Stuart*.

capital; and over them a perforated tile two feet ſquare. Such are continued over all the pillars. Above theſe are two layers; one of coarſe mortar, mixed with ſmall red gravel, about three inches thick; and the other of finer materials, between four and five inches thick: theſe ſeem to have been the floor of the room above. The pillars ſtand on a mortar-floor, ſpread over the rock. On the ſouth ſide, between the middle pillars, is the vent for the ſmoke, about ſix inches ſquare, which is at preſent open to the height of ſixteen inches. Here is alſo an anti-chamber, exactly of the ſame extent with the *Hypocauſt*, with an opening in the middle into it. This is ſunk near two feet below the level of the former, and is of the ſame rectangular figure; ſo that both together are an exact ſquare. This was the room allotted for the ſlaves who attended to heat the place; the other was the receptacle of the fuel deſigned to heat the room above, the *concamerata ſudatio* *, or ſweating-chamber; where people were ſeated, either in niches, or on benches placed one above the other, during the time of the operation. Such was the object of this Hypocauſt; for there were others of different forms, for the purpoſes of heating the waters deſtined for the uſe of the bathers.

I muſt now deſcend towards the bridge, in ſearch of the few further reliques of the antient coloniſts. After paſſing through the gate, on the right, near ſome ſkinners houſes, is a ſmall flight of ſteps, which lead to a round arch, ſeemingly of *Roman* workmanſhip. It is now filled with more modern maſonry

* *Vitruvius*, lib. v. c. 11.

ſonry, and a paſſage left through a ſmall arch of a very eccentric form. On the left, within the very paſſage, is the appearance of another round arch, now filled up. This poſtern is called the *Ship-gate*, or *Hole in the Wall*. Antient Poſtern.

This ſeems originally deſigned for the common paſſage over the *Dee*, into the country of the *Ordovices*, either by means of a boat at high-water, or by fording at low, the river here being remarkably ſhallow. What reduces this to a certainty is, that the rock on the *Hanbridge* ſide is cut down, as if for the convenience of travellers. And immediately beyond, in the field called *Edgar*'s, are the veſtiges of a road pointing up the hill; and which we ſhall have hereafter occaſion to ſay, was continued toward *Bonium*, the preſent *Bangor*. Roman Road.

In a front of a rock in the ſame field, and facing this relique of the *Roman* road, is cut a rude figure of the *Dea armigera*, MINERVA with her bird and altar. This probably was a ſepulchral monument; for ſuch were very uſual on the ſides of highways; but time or wantonneſs has eraſed all inſcription. Sculpture of Minerva.

Beyond this ſtood, paſt all memory, ſome antient buildings, whoſe ſite is marked by certain hollows; for the ground (probably over the vaults) gave way and fell in within the remembrance of perſons now alive. Tradition calls the ſpot the ſite of the palace of *Edgar*. Nothing is now left, from which any judgment can be formed, whether it had been a *Roman* building, as Doctor *Stukeley* ſurmiſes; or *Saxon*, according to the preſent notion; or *Norman*, according to *Braun* *, who, in his antient plan of

* *Civitates Orbis*, iii. pl. 3. This work was publiſhed in 1576.

of this city, ſtyles the ruins, then actually exiſting, *Ruinoſa domus Comitis Ceſtrienſis*. Perhaps it might have been uſed ſucceſſively by every one; who added or improved according to their reſpective national modes.

Having had occaſion to mention the name of a departed antiquary, I think fit to acknowlege my obligations for the many hints I have benefitted by, from the travels of that great and lively genius; but at the ſame time lament, that I muſt ſay, I often find him *plus beau que la* VERITE'. His rapid fancy led him too frequently to paint things as he thought they ought to be, not what they really were. In the ſubject before us, this aſſertion may be ſupported, by his giving three arches to the antient *Eaſt-gate*, and hollow ways to every part of the city; where ſearch has been made.

Altar. The beautiful altar, in poſſeſſion of Mr. *Dyſon*, and the ſoldier in the garden of Mr. *Lawton*, are the only pieces of detached antiquities now remaining in this city. The firſt is of great elegance, and was erected by *Flavius Longus*, tribune of the twentieth victorious legion, and his ſon *Longinus*, in honour of the emperors *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. The father and ſon, who thus expreſſed their gratitude, were of *Samoſata*, a city of *Syria*. On one ſide is the inſcription, on the oppoſite is a curtain with a feſtoon above. On one of the narrower ſides is a genius with a *cornucopia*; and on the other is a pot with a plant of the ſuppoſed *acanthus*, elegantly leaved. On the ſummit is a head included in a circular garland. I forgot to remark, that immediately over the inſcription is a globe overtopped with palm-

palm-leaves. If this is not a general compliment to their victories, I ſhould imagine it deſigned to expreſs their particular ſucceſſes in *Africa*, of which the palm-tree was a known emblem.

This was found in digging for a cellar near the *Eaſt-gate*, on the antient pavement, which conſiſted of great ſtones. Around it were found the marks of ſacrifice; heads, horns, and bones of the ox, roe buck, *&c.* and with them two coins; one of *Veſpaſian* in braſs, with his head, inſcribed IMP. CÆS. VESP. AUG. Coss. IIII. and on the reverſe, VICTORIA AUGUSTI S. C. and a winged Victory ſtanding. The other was of copper, inſcribed round the head, of *Conſtantius*, FL. VAL. CONSTANTIUS NOB. C. and on the other ſide, GENIO POPULI ROMANI; alluding to a genius holding in one hand a ſacrificing bowl, in the other a *cornucopia*.

The other antiquities diſcovered here are now diſperſed, which obliges me to have recourſe to books, in order to place them in one point of view.

The firſt is the noted altar diſcovered in 1653, at preſent preſerved at *Oxford*. It is inſcribed to *Jupiter*, with the *Britiſh* epithet *Tanarus*, or the Thunderer, by the tranſpoſal of the letters *r* and *n* in the word *Taran*. This appears to have been complimentary to the *Britons*, by adopting the epithet in their language, inſtead of that of *Tonans*. The inſcription (approved moſt by Mr. *Horſely* *) runs thus: Another.

* Tab. 67, N° iii.

Jovi optimo maximo Tanaro
Titus Elupius Galeria
Præsens *Guntia*, Primipilus
Legionis vicessimæ Valentis.
Victricis *Commodo* et *Laterano*
Consulibus votum solvit
Lubens merito.

The word *Guntia*, in the learned *Prideaux* and *Gale* *, is read *Gunethæ*, as if derived from *Gwynedd*, one of the *British* names of *North-Wales*; over which they suppose *Elupius* had presided. This might account for his preference of the word *Tanaro*, as highly flattering to the vanity of those he governed.

Statue of Mithras. The next is a statue in possession of the late Reverend Mr. *Prestot*, with a *Phrygian* bonnet on his head, a little mantle cross his shoulders, and a short jacket on his body. He is placed standing with a torch in his hands declining. This is supposed to have been *Mithras*, or the sun; a deity borrowed from the *Persians*, and much in vogue among the *Romans* in the second and third century †. An inscription, DEO SOLI MITRÆ, has been discovered in *Cumberland*. The *Phrygian* bonnet marks him for a foreign deity. The declining torch shews the funebrious occasion of this stone.

Mr. HORSELY mentions another stone, discovered in digging a cellar in *Water-gate street*, in 1729. The inscription is so imperfect, that he ingenuously confesses, that without the aid of fancy, it cannot be made out.

A few

* *Gale's Comm.* 53.
† *Horsely, Cumberland*, 259.

A few bricks, with the number of the legion ſtationed here, fill the liſt of the *Roman* antiquities of the place. I ſay nothing of the inſcription DEÆ NYMPHÆ BRIGANTES, preſerved by Mr. *Gale*, it being juſtly diſputed whether it belonged to this place.

I muſt not omit the moſt valuable memorial which the *Romans* left, in a particular manner, to this county; the art of cheeſe-making: for we are expreſsly told, that the *Britons* were ignorant of it till the arrival of the *Romans*. The *Ceſtrians* have improved ſo highly in this article, as to excel all countries, not excepting that of *Italy*, the land of their antient maſters. Cheeſe-making.

The twentieth legion was recalled from *Britain* before the writing of the *Notitia*, it not being mentioned in that work, which was compoſed * about the year 445. It is ſuppoſed alſo to have been drawn from *Cheſter* before the retreat of the *Romans* from this iſland, its name being found at *Bath* among ſome of the lateſt inſcriptions we have ‖. The city muſt not at that period be ſuppoſed to be totally deſerted; it remained occupied by the deſcendants of the legionaries, who partook of the ſame privileges, and were probably a numerous body. Numbers likewiſe, who had married with the iſlanders, and embraced civil employs, in all likelihood ſtayed behind after the final abdication of *Britain* by the legions in 448. After this, the city fell under the government of the *Britons*, till their conqueſt was entirely effected by the new invaders the *Saxons*. The Legion quits this Station.

BRITAIN,

* *Horſely*, 473. ‖ Idem, 85.

Saxon Period.

BRITAIN, now left defenceleſs, quickly experienced all the calamities that could be inflicted on it from a foreign and barbarous people. While *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* poured in their troops upon the ſouth, another ſet of *Banditti* landed in *Wales*, from their ſettlements in the *Orcades* and the north of *Scotland*. Theſe, with their allies the *Picts*, were defeated near *Mold*, by the Chriſtian *Britons*, headed by St. *Germanus*. I mention this out of courſe, merely to ſhew, that the probably reſt that *Deva* enjoyed for another century, was owing to this victory, which, obtained ſeemingly in a miraculous manner, diſcouraged for a long ſpace any new attempts.

Ethelfrid, 607.

The fate of this city was at length decided in 607 *, when *Ethelfrid* king of *Northumbria* reſolved to add this rich tract to his dominions. He was oppoſed by *Brochmel Yſcithroc* king of *Powis*; who collected haſtily a body of men, probably depending on the intervention of Heaven, as in the caſe of the *victoria alleluiatica*; for that end, he called to his aid one thouſand two hundred religious from the great convent of *Bangor*, and poſted them on a hill in order that he might benefit by their prayers. *Ethelfrid* fell in with this pious corps, and, finding what their buſineſs was ‡, put them to the ſword without mercy. He made an eaſy conqueſt of *Brochmel*, who, as the *Saxon* chronicle † informs us, eſcaped with about fifty men. It appears that *Ethelfrid*, after pillaging the city, left it to the former owners, and contented himſelf with the territory, till it was wreſted from his kingdom by that of *Mercia*.

Battle of Cheſter.

We

* *Sax. Chon.* 25. ‡ *Bede*, Hiſt. ii. c. 2. † P. 25.

We are left unacquainted with the history of this city for a long period. The *Britons* seem to have continued in possession of it, and it was considered to be the capital city of *Venedotia*, or *North Wales*, till it was finally wrested out of their hands by *Egbert*, about the year 828, during the reign of the *British* prince *Mervyn* and his wife *Esylht* *; which contracted the limits of *Wales*, during the remainder of its independent existence. Egbert, 828.

In a few years after it underwent a heavy calamity from the *Danes*. These pirates, the scourge of the kingdom, meeting with a severe defeat by *Alfred the Great*, retreated before him; and in their flight collecting vast numbers of their countrymen, committed the care of their wives, their ships, and their booty, to the *East Angles*, marched night and day to secure quarters in the west. They seized on *Legaceaster* before the king could overtake them. He besieged them about two days, destroyed all the cattle he could find about the town, partly burnt, and partly caused the standing corn to be destroyed by his cavalry, and slew all the *Danes* whom he found without the wall †. These invaders kept possession of the town part of the winter; but, compelled by famine, evacuated it the beginning of 895, and took their course though *North Wales*; which the same cause obliged them suddenly to quit. The Danes winter here, 895. Evacuate the place.

After the evacuation of the city by the *Danes*, it continued in ruins till the year 907 or 908; when the *Saxon Chronicle*, and all our antient historians, agree, that it was restored by the celebrated *Ethelfleda* §.

This

* *Powel*, 27. † *Sax. Chr.* 102. *Flores Hist. anno* 908. p. 269. § *Ranulf. Higden* in *Gale*, iii. 260.

Her History.

This lady is so frequently mentioned in the *Mercian* history, that it will not be impertinent to give a brief account of her. She was the undegenerate daugher of the great *Alfred*, and the wife of *Ethelred* earl of *Mercia*, under his brother-in-law *Edward* king of *England*. On the birth of her first child *, she separated herself from her husband, and for the rest of her days, like an *Amazon* of old, determined on a life of chastity, and devoted herself to deeds of arms. She kept on the best terms with her husband: they united in all acts of munificence and piety; restored cities, founded abbies, and removed to more suitable places the bones of long-departed saints.

After the death of her husband, in 912, she assumed the government of the *Mercian* earldom, and the command of the army. She became so celebrated for her valour, that the effeminate titles of Lady or Queen were thought unworthy of her: she received in addition those of LORD and KING.

O ELFLEDA potens, O terror virgo virorum
Victrix naturæ, nomine digna viri,
Tu quo splendidior fieres, natura puellam,
Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
Te mutare decet, sed solum nomine sexus,
Tu *Regina* potens, *Regque* trophæa parans,
Nec jam *Cæsarei* tantum meruere triumphi,
Cæsare splendidior virgo virago vale †.

* Pariendo suam sobolem primam difficultatem perpessa, tanta indignatione carnalem concubitum abhorruit, ut nunquam deinceps ad viri sui thorum rediens, se cælebitu castissimo contineret. *Ingulphi Hist.* 871.

† *Henry Huntingdon*, lib. v. p. 354.

ELFLEDA, terror of mankind!
Nature, for ever unconfin'd,
Stampt thee in woman's tender frame,
Tho' worthy of a hero's name.
Thee, thee alone, the Muſe ſhall ſing,
Dread EMPRESS and victorious KING!
E'en *Cæſar's* conqueſts were out-done
By thee, illuſtrious *Amazon!*

R. W.

The heroine appears well to have merited this eulogium. Her abilities and activity were perpetually exerted in the ſervice of her country. She erected a caſtle at *Sceargate*; another at *Briege*, the modern *Bridgenorth*; a third at *Tamweorthige*, or *Tamworth*; a fourth at *Stæfford*; a fifth at *Eadeſbyrig*, now the chamber in the foreſt in *Cheſhire*; a fifth at *Wærlingwic*, or *Warwick*; a ſixth at *Cyricbyrig*, or *Chirbury*; a ſeventh at *Weardbrig*, or *Wedſburrow*, in *Staffordſhire*; and an eighth at *Rumcof*, or *Runcorn*, in *Cheſhire*. She took *Breenanmere*, or *Brecknock*, and made its queen priſoner: ſhe ſtormed *Deoraby*, or *Derby*; but loſt four *Thanes* within the place: and finally, ſhe reſtored the city of *Legerceaſter*, after its deſolation by the barbarians; rebuilt the walls; and, as ſome pretend, enlarged the city ſo greatly as to include the caſtle, which before ſtood without the ancient precincts. Death put an end to her glorious courſe, at *Tamworth**, in the ſummer of 922, from whence her body was tranſlated to *Glouceſter*. Her loſs was regretted by the whole kingdom, and by none ſo ſenſibly felt as by her brother *Edward*; Death.

* *Sax. Chr.* 109.

ward; for ſhe was as uſeful to that wiſe prince in the cabinet as in the field.

Edgar, 973. EDGAR made this part one of the ſtations in his annual circumnavigation of his dominions. The year 973 is noted for the league he made here with ſix petty kings; who engaged to aſſiſt him by ſea and by land in all his undertakings. This is the fact, as related by the *Saxon Chronicle**. The ſame is mentioned, perhaps copied from the former, by *Henry of Huntingdon*; but *Higden*, the monk of *St. Werburg*, to do greater honour to his native city, makes the number of *Reguli* eight; and adds, that, in token of ſuperiority, *Edgar*, one day entering his barge, aſſumed the helm, and made his eight tributaries row him from the palace, which ſtood in the field which ſtill bears his name, up the *Dee*, to the church of St. *John*, and from thence back to his palace †.

Edmund Ironſides. In the following century, the invaſions of the *Danes* were conducted with ſo much policy as to induce the factious and traiterous nobility of *England* to raiſe and favour their deſigns. *Edmund*, ſurnamed *Ironſide*, took arms to relieve his diſtreſſed country, and carried the war into the northern counties, among which lay the principal partizans of the invaders: whoſe country he ravaged, in reſentment of their treaſon. This city is mentioned among thoſe which ſuffered. *Edmund*, by the perfidiouſneſs of his own people, was conſtrained to leave both the *Mercian* and *Northumbrian* kingdoms in poſſeſſion of *Canute*; who, in the famous partition of *England* between theſe

Canute, 1016.

rival

* P. 122. *Henry Huntingdon*, 356.
† *Polychron. in Gale*, iii. 267.

rival princes, in 1016, retained thoſe parts for his own ſhare.

On the reſtoring of the *Saxon* line, it reverted, with the reſt of the *Mercian* province, to its old maſters. *Leofric*, a munificent nobleman, was at that time governor of *Mercia*, and earl of *Cheſter*. Theſe earls were not created, but merely official. He died 1057, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Alfgar*, or *Algar*, a turbulent nobleman; who engaging in rebellion, aided by the *Welſh* prince *Gryffydd ap Llewelyn*, was twice deprived of his earldom, and was once pardoned. After his ſecond deprivation, he obtained again the province by dint of arms, aſſiſted by *Gryffydd* and a *Norwegian* fleet. He died ſoon after, and was interred in *Coventry*, where the earls of *Mercia* had their principal ſeat. 1057.

His eldeſt ſon *Edwin* ſucceeded; in whom ended the race of earls of *Cheſter* of *Saxon* blood. After the battle of *Haſtings*, he fled, with his brother *Morkar* earl of *Northumberland*, to *London*, with a view of the crown, vacant by the death of *Harold*. Being diſappointed in his hopes, he took his ſiſter *Algytha*, widow to the ſlain monarch, and ſent her to *Cheſter*; and endeavoured to eſcape to *Malcolm* of *Scotland*, but was intercepted by the way and ſlain. Norman Conqueſt, 1066.

ENGLAND now experienced a total change of maſters. The conqueror, in order at once to ſecure his new dominions, and to reward his followers, beſtowed on them the lands of the noble *Saxons*. He wiſely divided the provinces, which had hitherto been ruled by a few great men, into leſſer portions; and by this means broke the power which before often braved the throne. *Mercia*, heretofore under the

Poſt-conqueſt Earls of Cheſter.

the government of a duke or earl, and ruled by what was called, in the *Saxon* phraſe, the *Merchenlege*, received in many caſes a diſtinct maſter. *Cheſhire* fell to the ſhare of *Gherbod*, a valiant *Fleming*. By misfortune he fell into the hands of his enemies (being called into *Flanders*) ſoon after he had taken poſſeſſion of his new territories, and by reaſon of a long captivity was obliged to reſign them to another. The Conqueror, in his place, appointed *Hugh de Aurange*, better known by the name of *Hugh Lupus*; the firſt *Norman* earl of *Cheſter* who ever poſſeſſed the county. To him he delegated a fulneſs of power; made his a *county palatine*, and gave it ſuch a ſovereign juriſdiction, that the ancient earls kept their own parliaments; and had their own courts of law, in which any offence againſt the dignity of the ſword of *Cheſter* was as cognizable here, as the like offence would have been at *Weſtminſter* againſt the dignity of the royal crown; for *William* allowed *Lupus* to hold this county *tam liberè ad gladium, ſicut ipſe* REX *tenebat* Angliam *ad coronam*. The ſword by which he was inveſted with this dignity is ſtill to be ſeen in the *Muſeum*, inſcribed *Hugo comes Ceſtriæ*. Another inferior office was alſo held by the earls, by virtue of this ſword; that of ſword-bearer of *England* at the times of coronation *.

LUPUS inſtantly took poſſeſſion of his dominions. It is probable that he was inveſted in them by *William* himſelf; for we find the Conqueror at *Cheſter* in perſon in 1069, where he repelled the *Welſh*, and finally reduced the *Mercian* province, which appears to have been in arms to this period †. At the ſame time reſtored

* *Leiceſter*, 105. † *Ordericus Vitalis*, lib. iv. p. 516.

reſtored the walls and the caſtle; the former having either fallen into decay ſince the days of *Ethelfreda*, or were not thought ſufficiently ſtrong for the exigencies of the times.

As ſoon as *Lupus* was firmly eſtabliſhed, he began to exert his regal prerogatives. He formed his parliament by the creation of eight barons, *viz.* *Nigel* baron of *Halton*; *Robert*, of *Montalt*; *William Malbedeng* baron of *Nantwich*; *Vernon*, of *Shipbrook*; *Fitzhugh*, of *Malpas*; *Hamon de Maſſie Venables*, of *Kinderton*; and *Nicholas*, of *Stockport*. Theſe were to aſſiſt the earl with their advice: *Ego comes* HUGO *et mei* BARONES, was the form of his writs. They were obliged to pay him attendance, and to repair to his court to give it the greater dignity. They were bound, in time of war with *Wales*, to find for every knight's-fee a horſe with capariſon and furniture, or two without furniture, in the diviſion of *Cheſhire*. Their knights and freeholders were to have corſelets and habergeons, and were to defend their lands with their own bodies. Every baron had alſo four eſquires; every eſquire one gentleman; and every gentleman one valet *. Each of theſe barons had alſo their free courts of all pleas and ſuits, and all plaints, except what belonged to the earl's *ſword*. They had beſides power of life and death. The laſt inſtance of the exertion of this power was in the perſon of *Hugh Stringer*, who was tried for murder in the baron of *Kinderton*'s court, and executed in 1597 †.

The earls had their chamberlain, which ſupplied the place of chancellor; an office continued

* *Erdeſwicke*'s MSS. quoted by Doctor *Gower*, p. 22.
† Doctor *Gower*'s materials, &c. p. 22.

continued to this day. The firſt we know of was *Philippus Camerarius*, who took his name from his office, in the time of *Randle Gernouns* earl of *Cheſter*. Here is a baron of the exchequer, and other officers conformable to thoſe of the crown at *Weſtminſter:* alſo juſtices, before whom the cauſes which of their nature ſhould otherwiſe belong reſpectively to the courts of king's-bench and common-pleas, are triable *.

In imitation of regal power, the earls appointed a high conſtable of *Cheſhire*, correſpondent to the high conſtable of *England*; which was held in fee by the baron of *Halton*, who by virtue of this office took place of the other barons; and the baron of *Montalt* had precedency (after him) by virtue of his office in fee, of high ſteward.

ROBERT DE ROTHELENT was another baron, who was commander in chief of the forces in *Cheſhire*, and prime governor of the county under his couſin *Hugh Lupus*. As his office and rank dropt with him, he is not reckoned among the barons. Probably the office was found unneceſſary, and claſhing with the privileges of the high conſtable.

This ſpecies of government continued from the Conqueſt till the reign of *Henry* III. a period of about 174 years; when, in 1237, on the death of *John Scot* (the ſeventh earl of the *Norman* line) without iſſue male, *Henry* took the earldom into his own hands, and gave the daughters of the late earl other lands in lieu; unwilling, as we ſaid, that ſo great an inheritance ſhould *be parcelled out among diſtaffs*. The king beſtowed the county on his ſon *Edward*, who

The Earldom reſumed by the Crown.

* *Leiceſter*, 152.

who did not aſſume the title; which he afterwards beſtowed on his ſon *Edward* of *Caernarvon*, firſt *Engliſh* prince of *Wales*.

After the reſumption of the earldom by the crown, the government of the city aſſumed a new form; for in the year 1242, the 26th of *Henry* III. it appears to have firſt been under the directions of a mayor and ſheriffs. The mayor ſeems to have been the ſubſtitute for the conſtable: an office which, during the period of the *Norman* earls, was, under them, ſupreme in all matters military and civil, in both city and county. The ſheriffs ſeem to have been a new name for bailiffs, who acted under the former *.

After giving a general idea of the ſtate of this place and county to the time of *Henry* III. I ſhall return to the time of *Hugh Lupus*, and give, to the beſt of my power, a brief chronological account of its hiſtory; leaving the eccleſiaſtical part to be treated apart.

In the days of that potent earl, and probably long before he was poſſeſſed of this city, it enjoyed by preſcription divers privileges. It had a *guild mercatory* †, analogous to a modern corporation; ſo that no perſon who was not of that ſociety could exerciſe any trade or carry on any commerce within its precinct. Such was the ſtate in which the *Normans* found it; which the earls afterwards confirmed under their ſeals. Guild Mercatory.

Two overſeers, ſelected out of the moſt reſpectable citizens, were appointed to maintain the rights of this *guild*. They received, for the uſe of the city, all the cuſtoms paid by ſtrangers, unleſs at the fairs, which in thoſe days

* *Vale royal*, 161. † Ibid. 157.

days were ſaid to have been held three times in the year. Theſe officers were probably of the ſame nature as the deans of *guild* in *Scotland*. It appears alſo from the Doomſday book, that here was a ſupreme officer, called the *Præpoſitus Regis*, or provoſt, who had the care both of the civil and commercial intereſts.

Exports. Slaves.

It is difficult to ſay at this time what were the articles of exportation, excepting ſlaves and horſes. The firſt barbarous traffic was carried on by the *Saxons* to a great height. The deſcription of the mart is an exact picture of the *negro* commerce* at preſent; ſo little have we emerged from barbariſm in that inſtance.

Horſes, hides, &c.

Horſes were another article; but their exportation was prohibited, excepting they were deſigned for preſents, by a law of *Athelſtan*. But theſe, as well as ſeveral others, ſuch as metals, hides, dogs, and chalk, were probably ſtill exported, as in the times

* There is a town called *Brichſton (Briſtol)* oppoſite to *Ireland*, and extremely convenient for trading with that country. *Wulfſtan* induced them to drop a barbarous cuſtom, which neither the love of God nor the king could prevail on them to lay aſide. This was the mart for ſlaves, collected from all parts of *England*; and particularly young women, whom they took care to provide with a pregnancy, in order to enhance their value. It was a moſt moving ſight to ſee, in the public markets, rows of young people of both ſexes tied together with ropes; of great beauty, and in the flower of their youth, daily proſtituted, daily ſold. Execrable fact! wretched diſgrace! Men, unmindful even of the affection of the brute creation! delivering into ſlavery their relations, and even their very offſpring. Vita S. *Wulfſtan*, in *Anglia* Sacra, ii. 258. *Wulfſtan* was biſhop of *Worceſter*, and died in 1095.

times of the *Romans*. *Cheſter* was admirably ſituated for ſupplying all theſe articles, excepting the laſt. The frequent wars carried on with the *Weiſh*, furniſhed them with ſlaves; if thoſe were wanting, their neighbours of the *Northumbrian* kingdom were ready to diſpoſe of their neareſt relations*. The rich plains of *Cheſhire* furniſhed horns and hides; and the *Cambrian* mines, lead and copper.

Cheeſe muſt not be omitted, as a moſt important article; for the *Britons* made ſo great a progreſs in the arts of the dairy, that even under the *Roman* reign there was great exportation of cheeſes for the uſe of the *Roman* armies; in which this country doubtleſsly had the greateſt ſhare. Cheeſe.

The imports were the ſpices and other luxuries of the eaſt, procured either from *Venice*, or afterwards from the cities of *Piſa* and *Amalphi* ‡, the mazazines of the precious *Aſiatic* commodities. Imports.

Cloth was brought from *Flanders*, and linen from *Germany* §; reliques and eccleſiaſtical finery from *Italy* ¶, the ſtaple of ſuperſtition. Rich armour was another conſiderable article; for war and religion created in theſe ages the moſt important commerce of the ſtate. The warriors and the ſainted images were the beaux of the times; the crimes of the former were ſuppoſed to be readily expiated by proſtration to the latter; and acceptance was announced by the prieſt in proportion to the value of the offering. Cloth. Linen. Reliques.

* *Willielm Malmeſb.* in ſcript. poſt. *Bedam*, p. 17.
‡ *Anderſon*, i. 58, 59. § Idem, 52.
¶ *Bedæ Hiſt. Abb. Weremouth.* 295, 297.

Wine. FRANCE and *Spain* ſupplied them with wine; and the diſcovery made towards the north by *Ohthere*, under the directions of *Alfred*, gave

Furs. us furs, whale-bone, feathers, walruſes teeth, and other articles from that cold region *. Martins ſkins are twice mentioned in the Doomſday book, among the imports of *Cheſter*. *Ireland* might alſo ſupply them with furs, and ſeveral other commodities; this being the channel of communication on that ſide of the kingdom, and the great mart for the *Iriſh* commodities. A ſenſible but uncouth poem, about the year 1430, publiſhed in *Hakluyt*, i. 199, gives us a liſt of its articles of commerce.

Hides and fiſh, ſalmon, hake, herringe,
Iriſh wooll, and linnen cloth, faldinge,
And marterns good be her marchandie,
Hertes hides and other of venerie.
Skinnes of otter, ſquirrel, and *Iriſh* hare
Of ſheepe, lambe, and foxe, is her chaffare,
Felles of kiddes, and conies great plentie.

It is certain that *Cheſter* had long been a celebrated port. It appears to have been a ſtation for the *Saxon* navy; and frequently the ſeat of the court of the *Mercian* kingdom, both during the Heptarchy, and after it became a province at the general union under *Egbert*.

The ſtate of this city, in the time of *Edward* the Confeſſor, and at the Conqueſt, muſt be collected from the famous ſurvey the *Doomſday* book.

It

* Tranſlation of *Oroſius*, by the honourable DAINES BARRINGTON, 9, 12, 13.

It appears, that in the time of the *Saxon* monarch here were four hundred and thirty-one houſes which were taxable, beſides fifty-ſix that belonged to the biſhop: that it yielded ten marks of ſilver and a half; two parts to the king, and the third to the earl: that whenever the king came in perſon, he claimed from every plough-land two hundred *heſthas*, one *cuna* of ale, and one *ruſca* of butter *: that if any perſons made bad ale, they were either to ſit in a chair full of dung, or pay four ſhillings: that there were twelve judges in the city, and ſeven mint-maſters: that whenever repairs were wanting for the walls or the bridge, notice was given for one man out of every hide-land in the county to appear; and in caſe of abſence, he was fined forty ſhillings, to be divided between the king and the earl: and that the city was ſo depopulated at the time that *Hugh Lupus* took poſſeſſion, that there were two hundred and five houſes fewer than in the time of the Confeſſor.

It is probable that the city ſoon emerged from its calamities, and felt a conſiderable increaſe under its new maſters, a more poliſhed race; for the *Normans* affected as much elegance in their dreſs and their buildings, as they did temperance in their meat and drink. The example of a magnificent warrior, ſuch as the new earl, was quickly copied. His court, and that of his ſucceſſors, rendered it the moſt conſiderable place in theſe parts.

* *Heſtha* is ſuppoſed to be a capon; *cuna* a brewing tub or vat. I do not find *ruſca* explained.

According to *Lucian**, a jolly monk who flouriſhed about the time of the Conqueſt, its commerce was very conſiderable. He ſpeaks of the ſhips 'coming from *Gaſcoign*, *Spain*, '*Ireland*, and *Germany*, who, by GOD's aſſiſ-'tance, and by the labour and conduct of 'mariners, repair hither and ſupply them with 'all ſorts of commodities; ſo that being com-'forted with the favour of GOD in all things, '*we drink wine plentifully*; for thoſe countries 'have abundance of vineyards.'

1159. Here, in 1159, *Henry* II. and *Malcolm* the IVth of *Scotland* had their interview; and the important ceſſion was made to *Henry* by the latter, of the three counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, formerly wreſted from the *Engliſh* crown †.

1188. BALDWIN, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in 1188, viſited this place, in his road from *Wales*, where his zeal led him to recommend the *Croiſade* to the mountaineers, aſſiſted by the eloquent and vain *Giraldus*. All the hiſtorian takes notice of in this reſpectable city is, that *Conſtance* counteſs of *Cheſter* kept a herd of milch hinds, made cheeſes of their milk, and preſented three to the archbiſhop: that he ſaw an animal, a compound of an ox and a ſtag; a woman born without arms, who could ſew as well with her feet as others of her ſex did with their fingers; and finally, that he heard of a litter of whelps begotten by a monkey ‡. As *Giraldus* was a great dealer in preſages, it is wondrous he made no uſe of all theſe portents: probably no

* Quoted by *Cambden*. i. 672. † *Fordun*, i. 449.
‡ *Itin. Cambr.* c. xi. p. 87.

no ſignal event happened in theſe parts in his days, to which they could be applied.

The next remarkable occurrences were the ravages of *Llewelyn ap Gryffydd*, prince of *Wales*, who carried fire and ſword to the very gates of *Cheſter*, and deſtroyed every thing around on both ſides of the river; provoked by the cruel injuries his ſubjects ſuſtained from *Geffrey Langley*, lieutenant of the county under prince *Edward* *. 1255.

This city ſeems to have been a conſtant rendezvous of troops, and *place d'armes* for every expedition on this ſide of the *kingdom*, from the times of the *Normans* to the conqueſt of *Ireland* by *William* III. In 1257, *Henry* III. ſummons his nobility † to attend with their vaſſals at *Cheſter* on a certain day, in order to invade *Wales*, and revenge the inroads of the *Welſh*; and the biſhops ‡ were at the ſame time required to appear there on the ſame occaſion.

EDWARD I. in 1275, appointed this city as the place of receiving the homage of *Llewelyn*; to which that high-ſpirited prince declining to ſubmit §, brought on the war, which concluded with the deſtruction of him and his principality. 1275.

And in this city was received, in 1300, the final acknowlegement of the *Welſh* to the ſovereignty of *England*, by *Edward* of *Caernarvon* prince of *Wales*, when the freeholders of the country did homage and fealtie for their reſpective lands ¶. 1300.

RICHARD

* *Walſingham*, p. 467; who places this event in 1255.
† *Rymer*, i. 635. ‡ Idem, 636.
§ *Powel*, 333. *Rymer*, ii. 53, 68. ¶ *Powel*, 382.

1397. RICHARD II. viſited the capital of his favourite and loyal county; and did it the diſtinguiſhed honour of converting it into a principality, and annexing to it the caſtle of *Holt*, the lordſhip of *Bromefield* and *Yale*, *Chirkland*, and ſeveral other places in *Wales* and on the borders. But *Henry* IV. in his fourth year, reſcinded an act that incroached ſo much on the dignity of his ſon as prince of *Wales* *.

1399. HENRY IV. in 1399, ſeized the city and caſtle, in his way to *Flint* againſt his ill-fated monarch *Richard* II. and on his return ſecured him for one night in the fortreſs; and barbarouſly put to death Sir *Perkin a Legh*, and other gentlemen, whom he took with their unfortunate maſter.

During the inſurrection of *Glendwr*, this city was made a rendezvous of the royal forces, and a *place d'armes*. It does not appear that our countryman ever made any attempt on it, notwithſtanding numbers of the gentry of this gallant county favoured his cauſe †. But the country was unhappily divided; and continued ſo during the civil wars that raged between the houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*. The ſpirited *Margaret*, in order to keep up the intereſt of her party, made a progreſs into the county in 1455. 1455, and viſited this city ¶. In 1459, ſoon 1459. before the battle of *Bloreheath*, ſhe made another, and took with her the *Meek Uſurper*, her huſband *Henry* IV. and her ſon *Edward*. She kept a public table wherever ſhe went; and beſtowed on the *Cheſhire* gentlemen, that eſpouſed her cauſe, little ſilver ſwans, the badge of

* Statutes at large, 21 *Rich.* II. c. 9.
† *Rymer*, viii. 333. ¶ *Vale-Royal*, 185.

of the young prince, as the cogniſance of the *Lancaſtrians* *. She appointed *James* lord *Audley* to command the *Cheſhire* forces. *Michael Drayton* gives an animated deſcription of the effects of civil diſcord on this occaſion: he acquaints us that *Audley*

So labour'd, till that he had brought
That t'half of one houſe 'gainſt the other fought.
So that two men ariſing from one bed
Falling to talk, from one another fly;
This wears a white roſe, and that wears a red;
And this a YORK, that LANCASTER doth cry:
HE wiſh'd to ſee that AUDLEY well had ſped;
He prays again to proſper SAL'SBURY.
AND for their farewel, when their leaves they take,
THEY their ſharp ſwords at one another ſhake §.

DANIEL KING tells us, that *Edward* prince of *Wales*, ſon to *Edward* IV. came to *Cheſter* before *Chriſtmas* 1475, and was immediately conveyed to the caſtle with great triumph. *Edward* muſt have deſigned this only as a compliment to his friends in theſe parts, his ſon being at this time a child of four years of age. Such marks of royal favour were not unfrequent. *Henry* VII. and his queen came here in 1493; and *Henry* ſent his ſon *Arthur* to viſit the place in 1497. 1475. 1493. 1497.

This city had alſo its ſhare in the calamitous diſtempers of the times. In 1506, it was viſited by that endemic diſorder the *ſweating-ſickneſs*, which deſtroyed, in three days, ninety-one houſeholders. The remark, of this deſtroying-angel's reſpect to the female ſex, was verified here; for only four periſhed. 1506.

In

* *Speed*'s *Hiſt.* 885.
§ The Miſeries of Queen *Margaret*, part iv.

1517. In 1517, it was followed by the peſtilence, when ſuch numbers died, and ſuch numbers fled, that the ſtreets of the city were overgrown with graſs.

1529. It appears that the citizens of *Cheſter* were not leſs celebrated for their dramatic performances than thoſe of *Coventry* *. They exhibited two ſpecies; one formed upon moral romance, the other on ſcriptural hiſtory. In this year they enacted at the high-croſs the play of *Robert* kyng of *Cicyle*, or *Robert le Diable*, borrowed from the *French* morality of that name.

> Here is of kyng *Robert* of *Cicyle*,
> Hou pride did him beguile †.

ROBERT, like another *Nebuchadnezzar*, thought himſelf beyond the power of any being, divine or human. Heaven, in order to humble him, cauſes a deep ſleep to fall on him in church: when the congregation is diſmiſſed, an angel aſſumes his form, and deceives his attendants, who follow the angelic king into the palace; is diſowned; ſeized as an impoſtor, and at laſt appointed *fool of the hall* to the new king; and,

> Clothed in lodly ‡ garnement
> With ffoxes tayles mony aboute
> Men mihte him knowen in the route.

After

* *Dugdale*, i. 249. † Mr. WARTON's Hiſt. Poetry, i. 184. *Daniel King* calls it the play of *Robert Cecill*.
‡ Loathſome.

After a very long and ignominious penance, the angel finds *Robert* effectually cured of his preſumption, quits his miſſion, and reſtores the poor king to his throne.

The year 1532 reminds me of the religious dramas being performed in this city. Theſe are the famous interludes known by the name of *Myſteries*, originally compoſed in the years 1327 and 1328, by *Randal Higgenet*, a monk of *Cheſter* abby, as this prologue acquaints us. 1532. Whitſon Plays.

Reverend lords and ladyes alle,
That at this tyme aſſembled be;
By this meſſauge underſtond you ſhall,
That ſome tymes there was mayor of this citie
Sir *John Arnway*, knight; who moſt worthilye
Contented hymſelfe to ſet out in playe
The deviſe of one *Done Rondall*, moonke of *Cheſter* abbey.

RONDAL, it ſeems, firſt compoſed theſe Myſteries in *Latin*; and took true pains to obtain leave to exhibit them in an *Engliſh* dreſs, having made three journies to *Rome* for his Holyneſs's permiſſion *. Others again were the labours of Sir *Henry Frances*, another monk, as appears by the proclamation for the *Whiſton* plays in this year, made by the clerk of the *Pentice*, ſetting forth, that in

'Oulde tyme, not only for the augmentation and increes of the holy and catholick 'faith,, and to exhort the minds of the common people to good deuotion and holſome 'doctrine, but alſo for the commonwelth of 'this citty, a play and declaration of divers 'ſtoryes of the Bible, beginning with the creacion,

* *Harleian* MSS. 2124.

'cion, and fall of *Lucifer*, and ending with 'the generall judgement of the world, to be 'declared and played in the *Whitsonne* weeke, 'was devised and made by Sir *Henry Frances*, 'sometyme moonke there; who gat of *Cle-'ment*, then bushop of Rome, 1000 dayes of 'pardon, and of the bushop of *Chester* at that 'tyme, 40 dayes of pardon, to every person 'resorting in peaceable manet to heare the 'sayd playes; which were instituted to the ho-'nour of God by *John Arnway*, then major of '*Chester*, his brethren and whole cominalty 'thereof; to be brought forth, declared, and 'played, at the cost and charges of the crafts-'men and occupations of the sayd citty, '*&c. &c.* *.'

These plays had probably been dropt for a considerable time; which occasioned the proclamation, in the reign of that pageant-loving prince *Henry* VIII. Forty-three years had elapsed since the last performance of this nature, when the *Assumption of our Lady* was played before his brother *Arthur*, at the abby-gates of this city.

These Mysteries were the rude origin of the *English* theatre. Our drama, as the very ingenious Mr. *Warton* remarks, was in early times confined entirely to religious subjects; and these plays were nothing more than an appendage to the specious and mechanical devotion of the age †. I refer the reader to that gentleman's amusing history of the rise and progress of these performances; and confine myself to a few specimens of the gross and ridiculous exhibitions of the times; when the audience

* *Harleian* MSS. 2013.

† History of *English* Poetry, i. 237.

audience liſtened with the fulleſt admiration and devotion to what would at preſent fill a theatre with laughter from the gay, at the abſurdity, or ſcandalize the ſerious part, with the (unintentional) impiety. I ſhall only premiſe, that the ſcene of action was the church, in defiance of the fulminations of the furious *Bonner*, and the pious *Grindal*.

Theſe plays were twenty-five in number. They were performed for above three centuries, to the ſtaring audience, who received the unvaried ſubject with the ſame annual pleaſure as the *Romans* did the farces in their days of honeſt ſimplicity.

Tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
Exodium, cum perſonæ pallentis hiatum
In gremio matris formidat ruſticus infans.
Juv. Sat. iii.

The ſame rude ſong returns upon the crowd,
And by tradition is for wit allow'd,
The mimic yearly gives the ſame delights,
And in the mother's arms the clowniſh infant frights.
DRYDEN.

They do not appear to us in the words of the original deviſer: but, the language and poetry being grown obſolete, they were altered to that of the time, for the performance of the year 1600, and were acted by the craftſmen of the twenty-five companies, who were all dreſſed in ſuitable habits.

1. The Tanners performed the play or pageant of the Fall of *Lucifer*; and in the courſe of the prologue are thus inſtructed:

Nowe,

Nowe, you worſhippfull Tanners, that of cuſtome olde
The fall of *Lucifer* did ſette out:
Some writers a warrante, your matter therfor be ſhoulde
Craftelye to playe the ſame to all the rowtte:
Your authour his auther hath: your ſhewe let it be
Good ſpeech, fyne players, with apparrill comelye.

SHAKESPEAR certainly formed his *perſonæ dramatis* of mechanics, his *Quinces*, *Snugs*, *Snouts*, and *Starvelings*, in the Midſummer-Night's Dream, from performers of this kind.

2. The Drapiers enacted the Creation of the World. *Adam* and *Eve* appeared literally naked, and were *not aſhamed*, till after the fall, when they propoſed, according to the ſtage-direction, to make themſelves *ſubligacula a foliis, quibus tegamus pudenda*, and made their appearance with an apron of fig-leaves, ſticking religiouſly to the account given in the third chapter of *Geneſis*.

3. The Water leaders and drawers of the *Dee*, took, with great propriety, the Hiſtory of the *Deluge*; which being handled in a very diverting manner, I ſhall tranſcribe as a pattern of the reſt. Their prologue tells them, 'that *Noe* ſhall goe into the *arke*, with all his 'famylye, his wyfe excepte.' After the long catalogue of birds, beaſts, &c. which are ſuppoſed to have entered the veſſel, Noah thus calls to his ſpouſe:

NOYE*.

Wyfe, come in, why ſtand you there?
Thou art ever frowarde, that ſure I ſweare;
Come in on God's half, tyme it were,
For feat leſt that wee drowne.

* This is copied from the MS. in the *Bodleian* Library.

NOYE.

NOYES Wief.

You Sir, ſett up your ſayle,
And rowe forth with evill hayle;
For, withouten land ſayle,
I will not out of this grove.
But I have my goſſopes evry ech one,
One fote further I will not gone;
They ſhall not drowne, by Saint *John*,
And I maye ſave ther lyves.
They loved me full well by *Chriſt*;
But thou wilt lett them into thie cheſt,
Ellis row forth maye when thou liſte,
And get thee another wief.

NOYE.

Sem, ſonne, nowe thie mother is war o woe,
By *God* faith another I doe not knowe.

SEM.

Father, I ſhall fetch her in, I trow
Withouten anie faile.
Mother, my father after thee ſends,
And biddes thee into yonder ſhip wends;
Look upe and ſee the winds,
For we bene readie to ſayle.

NOYE'S Wief.

Sonne, go agayne to him, and ſaye,
I will not come therein to daye.

NOYE.

Come in, wief, in twentie devill waye,
Or allis ſtand there without.

CHAM.

Shall we all fetch her in?

NOYE.

NOYE.

Yea, ſonnes, in *Chriſt*'s bleſſing and mine,
I would ye hied yea be tyme;
For of this flood I ſtand in doubt.

The good GOSSOPES.

The flood comes fleeting in apace,
One every ſide it ſpredeth full fare;
For fear of drowning I am agaſt.
Good goſſopes, let us draw neare,
And let us drink are we depart;
For oft tymes have we done ſo:
For at a draught thou drinks a quart,
And ſo will I doe or I goe.
Here is a pottell, full of malmeſay good and ſtrong;
It will rejoyce both hart and tong;
Though *Noy* think us never ſo long,
Yet wee will drink a tyte.

JAPHET.

Mother, we pray you altogether;
For we are here your own children;
Come into the ſhip for feare of the wedder,
For his love that you bought.

NOYES Wief.

That I will not for all your call.
But I have my goſſopes all.

SEM.

In faith, morher, yet you ſhall,
Whether you will or mongſt.

NOYE.

Well me wief into this boate.

NOE'S Wyfe.

Have you that for thie note.
[*Gives* Noah *a box in the ear.*]

NOE.

NOE.

A ha, *Mary!* this is whote:
It is good for to be ſtill.
A, children! methink my boat remeves;
Our tarrying here heughly me greves:
On the land the water ſpreads:
GOD doe as he will.

4. The Barbers and Wax-chandlers told how *Abraham* returned from the ſlaughter of the four kings, *&c.*

5. The Cappers and Linen-drapers took up the ſtory of *Balaam* and his aſs; and make the prophet accoſt his beaſt in terms too low and ludicrous to be repeated. This animal had far greater reſpect paid it in a neighbouring kingdom; for feaſts were held in honour of it. The *feſta aſinaria*, or feaſts of aſſes, were celebrated in *France* in the beginning of the fifteenth century *; when the beaſt, covered with a cope, was introduced into church, attended by the clergy, and ſaluted with the following hymn:

Orientis partibus
Adventavit aſinus
Pulcher et fortiſſimus
Sarcinis aptiſſimus.
Hè, ſire Ane, hè.
Hic in Collibus ſiceſen
Enutritus ſub *Rubea*
Tranſiit per *Jordanem*,
Salii in *Bethleem*.
Hè, ſire Ane, hè.

Saltu vincit hinnulos
Dagmas et capreolos,
Super Dromedarios
Velox *Madianeos*.
Hè, ſire Ane, hè.
Aurum de *Arabia*,
Thus et myrrham de *Saba*
Tulit in eccleſia
Virtus aſinaria.
Hè, ſire Ane, hè.

* Memoires, &c. de la Fête des Foux, 14. See alſo more of it in Mr. *Warton*'s Hiſtory of Poetry, i. 246.

Dum

Dum trahit vehicula
Multa cum ſarcinula,
Illius mandibula,
Dura terit pabula.
Hè, ſire Ane, hè.

Amen dicas, Aſine,
Jam ſatur ex gramine,
Amen, amen, itera,
Aſpernare vetera,
Hè ſire Ane, hè.

Cum ariſtis hordeum
Comedit et carduum
Triticum a palea
Segregat in area.
Hè, ſire Ane, hè.

6. The Wrights and Slaters rehearſed the *Beirth of Chriſte*. 7. The Painters and Glaziers, the Appearance of the Angels to the Shepherds. 8. The Vintners, the Departure of the Wiſe men, or three Kings of the eaſt, in ſearch of our Saviour. 9. The Mercers, the Offerings of the three Kings. 10. The Goldſmiths, the Murder of the Innocents; and give a curious dialogue between the ſoldiers and the women. 11. The Blackſmiths ſhew how Chriſt diſputed with the doctors in the temple. 12. The Butchers, how he was led by the Spirit into the wilderneſs. 13. The Glovers tell of the death of *Lazarus*. 14. The Corviſors, of *Jeſus* and the Lepers. 15. The Bakers, of the laſt Supper. 16. The Fletchers, Bowyers, Coopers, and Stringers, choſe the Hiſtory of the Paſſion. 17. The Ironmongers, the Crucifixion. 18. The Cooks relate the deſcent of *Chriſt* into Hell, and what he did there; which concludes with our Saviour redeeming out of Purgatory all the ſaints, and leaving behind only one poor woman (probably a real character at the compoſition of this curious

drama)

drama) whoſe crime ſhe confeſſes in a long ſpeech:

Some time I was a tavernere,
A gentel goſſepp, and a tapſtere
Of wine and ale a truſty brewer,
Which woe hath me bewrought.
Of cannes I kepe no true meaſure;
My cuppes I ſolde at my pleaſure,
Deceavinge many a creature,
Tho' my ale were noughte.

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She is then welcomed by the devils; which cloſes the piece, and all I ſhall relate of thoſe heaps of abſurdities.

The city had, till this time, been indulged with public ſtews or brothels, which, for ſome centuries, were permitted by legiſlative authority, and regulated by wholeſome laws, ordained by the commons, and confirmed by the king and lords. Thoſe of *Southwark* were attended to in a particular manner in 1161, the 8th of *Henry* II. One article affords reaſon to believe, that a certain diſeaſe had a much earlier date than the ſiege of *Naples*; for it prohibits the ſtew-holders from keeping any woman that hath the *perillous infirmity of burning* *. Their houſes were diſtinguiſhed by having the fronts whitewaſhed, by having ſigns, not hung out, but painted againſt the walls. Among the ſigns, I obſerve the ſingular one of the cardinal's hat. Notwithſtanding the keepers were protected in their profeſſion, they were reckoned infamous, were not to be impanelled on any juries, or allowed to hold

1542. Public Stews.

* *Stowe's* Hiſt. *London*, II. book iv. 7.

a tavern*. The women that frequented them were forbidden the rites of the church, as long as they exerciſed their profeſſion, and were excluded from Chriſtian burial, if they were not reconciled before their death. *Henry* VIII. ſuppreſſed the *Surry* houſes in 1537; thoſe in this city in 1542.

1554. This year was diſtinguiſhed by one of the cruel deeds that marked the reign of the bigotted *Mary*; the burning of *George Marſh*, for his adherence to the Proteſtant faith. I have often been informed by the worthy Doctor *William Cooper*, that when *Marſh* was brought to *Boughton*, the place of execution, by the ſheriffs *Amory* and *Cooper*, the laſt, an anceſtor of the Doctor, favouring the religion of the ſufferer, attempted his reſcue; but being overpowered by his brother officer, was obliged to fly till better times, when he returned, and diſcharged the office of mayor in 1561.

1564. Feſtive times now took place again, probably in compliment to the taſte of the glorious but romantic Queen *Elizabeth*. In the year 1564, upon the *Sunday* after Midſummer, in the mayoralty of Sir *Lawrence Smith*, 'the hiſtory of *Æneas* and queen *Dido* was played on 'the *Rood's-eye*, ſet forth by *William Croſton*, 'gent. and Mr. *Man*; on which triumph was 'made two forts, and ſhipping on the water, 'beſides many horſemen well armed and appointed.' The forts and ſhipping ſeem to have been pageants, to carry on ſome deeds of chivalry. We hear of the ſhip *Fame, laden with good Renowne*, among the pageantries of

* *Drake*'s Parliam. Hiſt. ii. 233.

of *Henry* *; and the *Fortreſſe* of *Beautie, aſſailed by viriuous Deſire*, among thoſe of *Elizabeth* †. The aſſailants battered it with noſegays: and the beſieged diſcharged againſt them cannons filled with ſweet powder, or odoriferous water.

During St. *Lawrence*'s mayoralty, we have an account of another *ſpectacle*, an annual one, upon the watch of the even of St. *John the Baptiſt*; for Sir *Lawrence*, and the aldermen and common-council, contract with two painters to have in 'readineſs, with all furniture thereto 'belonging, *viz.* four gyants, one unicorne, 'one dromedarye, one luce, one camell, one 'aſſe, one dragon, ſix hobbye horſes, and ſixteen naked boyes; and the ſame being in 'readines, ſhall beare or carry, or cauſe to be 'borne and carryed, during the watche, from 'place to place, accordinge as the ſame have 'been uſed,' *&c.* ‡. I am at a loſs to gueſs at the end of this preparation: but find that it was ſuppreſſed during the mayoralty of 1599.

The virtue of *Edward Dutton*, mayor of the city in 1604, muſt not paſs unnoticed. This worthy magiſtrate, like *Marſeilles*' good biſhop, kept his ſtation during the whole time of a dreadful peſtilence; 1604.

When nature ſickened, and each gale was death

His houſe was infected, and ſome of his children and ſervants died. The court of exchequer was removed to *Tarvin*; the *Michaelmas*

* *Holinſhed*, 809. † The ſame, 1317.
‡ *Harleian* MSS. N°. 1968, 9.

assizes were held at *Namptwich*; and the fairs ceased during this sad visitation.

1617. In this year the city was honoured with the presence of *James* I. where he was received with a magnificence that did honour to the place. The mayor, *Edward Button*, presented his majesty with a fair standing cup, with a cover double gilt, and in it a hundred jacobins of gold. He also delivered the city's sword to the king, who returning it, the mayor bore it before him on horseback. His worship was offered the honour of knighthood, but declined it. The city did not confine its munificence to crowned heads: I find, that in 1583, *Robert* earl of *Leicester*, chamberlain of the county palatine, met with a most honourable reception; was received at the high-cross by the whole corporation, entertained by the mayor, and presented with a cup containing forty angels. The unfortunate earl of *Essex*, in 1598, in his way to *Ireland*, was still more distinguished. He was presented with the like sum; but in a cup of the same kind as that which was afterwards presented to *James*.

From 1617, I discover nothing very particular for a considerable space; till the city was involved in the calamities of a siege in 1645-6, in consequence of its unshaken loyalty to *Charles* I. At the beginning of the civil war, immediate attention was paid to this important city, by the royal party. The fortifications were put into the best repair, and outworks extended from the alcove on the north part of the walls, to the brink of the river near *Boughton*; and in consequence, numbers of houses were pulled down, to prevent them from giving shelter to the enemy. The first attempt made on the place by the parliament army was

on

on the 20th of *July* 1643, when Sir *William Brereton* gave a violent aſſault on the works; but met with a repulſe. In the ſame year he ſent a ſummons to Sir *Abraham Shipman*, then governor, to ſurrender: the gallant commander bid him come and win it and wear it.

After the repulſe of Lord *Biron* before *Namptwich*, the county of *Cheſter* was almoſt entirely in the hands of Sir *William Brereton*, and the city ſuffered from that time a ſort of blockade; from the quarters the enemy poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood, even as near as the village of *Chriſtleton*. Sallies and excurſions were frequently made; and, according to the diary of the ſiege, with advantage to the loyaliſts.

On *September* the 19th 1645, the parliament gained an advantage irrecoverable by the beſieged. Colonel *Jones* and adjutant-general *Lothian*, who were employed in the reduction of *Beeſton* caſtle, drew from before that place, in a ſecret manner, a large body of forces, and in the night ſtormed the outworks, and made themſelves maſters of every thing, even to the city walls. His majeſty, immediately after this misfortune, paſſed through *Wales*, and got into the city, in hopes of animating the garriſon, and was lodged at Sir *Francis Gamul's*, near the bridge. He arrived only time enough to be a ſpectator, from the leads of the *Phœnix* tower, of the fatal battle on *Rowton* heath, on *September* 24; when his forces, under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, then on their march to raiſe the ſiege, after a well-diſputed action, ſunk under the ſuperior fortune of general *Pointz*.

The king continued that night in *Cheſter*; and on quitting it the next day, gave orders to the governor, lord *Biron*, that in caſe there

was no appearance of relief within eight days, he was to treat of a ſurrender. The king took the route of *Denbigh*, attended to that town by the three reſpectable citizens, Sir *Francis Gamul*, alderman *Cooper*, and captain *Thropp*. The ſiege was continued with the utmoſt vigour by Sir *William Brereton*; notwithſtanding which, the gallant garriſon held out for twenty weeks, beyond the expectation of every body: and, after having been reduced to live on horſes, dogs, and cats, yielded, on the 3d of *February* 1645-6, on terms that did honour to the ſpirit of the beſieged. The city was evacuated by the royaliſts; and received from the parliament, as governor, colonel *Jones*. But the miſeries of the citizens did not terminate with the ſiege: a dreadful peſtilence broke out in 1647: two thouſand inhabitants periſhed, and the city became almoſt a deſert.

Bridge. In order to give a further hiſtory of the military, civil, and eccleſiaſtical architecture of this antient city, I return to the bridge. This paſſage was prior to the Conqueſt, at which period it ſeems to have been either deſtroyed, or found to be ſo much out of repair, that I find in *Doomſday book* an order for the provoſt to ſummon one man from each hide of land in the county, in order to re-build the bridge and the walls; and, in caſe of neglect of appearance, the lord of the perſon ſo ſummoned was to forfeit to the king and earl forty ſhillings.

According to a MS. quoted by Mr. *Groſe*, it was begun by the great reſtorer of the city, *Ethelfleda*, and after her death completed by her brother *Edward*. Before that time, the paſſage was by a ferry that plied between the poſtern, called the *Ship-gate*, and *Edgar's* field.

field. It does not appear to me that any part of the *Saxon* bridge remains; ſo frequently has it been repaired ſince that diſtant period.

Cauſeway and Mills.

Beneath the arch next to the city, is a current, which, by means of a great dam or cauſeway that croſſes the river obliquely, ſupplies the city mills with water. Theſe mills and the cauſeway were originally founded by *Hugh Lupus* *, and retained by his ſucceſſors, and afterwards by the earls of *Cheſter* of the royal line. I find them often leaſed by the crown; *Edward* the black prince, in particular, in 1356, grants them, the fiſhing, ſuit, court, and calſey, for three years, to *Robert* of *Bredone*, parſon of St. *Peter* at *Cheſter*, and others, at the annual rent of 190*l.* †. This rent was very conſiderable in thoſe days; and aroſe from the obligation every inhabitant of the city then lay under to grind at theſe mills, excepting the tenants of the abbot and monks of St. *Werburgh*, and, in after times, thoſe of the dean and chapter, inhabiting without the *North-gate*, who had a mill of their own at *Bachpool*.

I muſt not omit, that a grant of thoſe mills for life was the reward of valour to my countryman Sir *Howel y Fwyall*, for his bravery in taking priſoner *John* king of *France*, in the battle of *Poitiers*. This grant was alſo made by the black prince, who not only knighted *Howel*, but allowed a meſs of meat to be ſerved before his battle-ax, in memory of the good uſe he made of it in that day; from which he acquired the name of *Fwyall*, or *Howel* of the ax ‡.

On

* *Harleian* MSS. 2082. 10. 2003. 41. 43.
† Idem, 2081. 21.
‡ Hiſt. *Gwedir* family. Fifteen tribes of *N. Wales*.

Bridge-gate.

On each ſide of the *Bridge-gate* are two rounders: over it are the three feathers, the arms of the princes of *Wales*. Thoſe were firſt aſſumed by the BLACK PRINCE after the battle of *Creſſi*, in 1346: our hiſtorians aſſert, that they were the three oſtrich-feathers which the king of *Bohomia* bore that day in his coronet; and that he was ſlain by *Edward*, who ſeizing on the creſt, bore from that time both the feathers and the motto *Ich dieu*, I ſerve. I am unwilling to ſully the honour of our gallant prince, by ſuppoſing that he would ſtain his ſword in ſo unequal an encounter. The king was blind with age; and, finding the battle go againſt his allies, was led, by his own orders, into the rage of the combat, determined to die in the cauſe of *France*. Our brave prince, probably, might aſſume this royal cognizance in memory of the glorious day, and add to it his own motto, *Ic dieu*, the old *Engliſh* for *I ſerve*, alluſive to the ſcriptural verſe, *The heir while he is a child differeth not from a ſervant* *; an impreſe extremely ſuitable to the characteriſtic modeſty and filial piety of this prince.

This and the other city gates were placed under the protection of certain great men, who held lands within the county palatine. The earl of *Shrewſbury* had the care of the *Bridge-gate*; the earl of *Oxford*, of the *Eaſt-gate*; the earl of *Derby*, of the *Water-gate*. But the *North-gate*, belonging peculiarly to the city, was intruſted only to its chief magiſtrates. Tolls were exacted at entrance, from all ſtrangers, for the ſupport of the guard;

* *Cambden's* Remains, 344.

guard; and, notwithſtanding the cauſe has long ſince ceaſed, are ſtill demanded at the *Bridge-gate*.

Above the gate is a lofty octagonal tower, begun in 1600, by permiſſion of the corporation, by *John Tyrer* of this city, containing the works which for a long time raiſed water out of the *Dee* to a ciſtern in the top, whence it was conveyed in pipes to almoſt all parts of the city. Poſſibly theſe did not anſwer their purpoſe effectually; for in 1622, *Tyrer* had a new grant of a tower erected for a water-work and a well-place, ten feet ſquare, near *Spittle Boughton*, with full powers for the conveyance of the water to the ciſtern or conduit near the high-croſs. This work (which was firſt begun by the *black friers* in the time of *Edward* I. *) fell to decay. In 1690, the works undertaken by *Tyrer* being found to be ruinous and uſeleſs, *John Hopkins* and *John Hadley*, by the encouragement of the corporation, began new works for ſupplying the city with water from the river *Dee*: for this purpoſe, they purchaſed the grant made to *Tyrer*, and alſo one of the corn-mills, for the conveniency of placing their engine. The city confirmed to them all the powers formerly veſted in *Tyrer*, and particularly that of ſetting up a ciſtern oppoſite to the abby court, as a conſtant receptacle for freſh water. Water-works.

Near the *Bridge-gate* is one aſcent to the city walls; which are the only entire ſpecimen of antient fortification now in *Great-Britain*. They are a mile and three quarters, and a hundred Walls.

* De aquæductu per ipſos *(the black friers)* faciendo a fonte furcas. Vide *Tanner*, 65.

dred and one yards in circumference; and, being the principal walk of the inhabitants, are kept in excellent repair, by certain impoſts, called murage duties, collected at the cuſtom-houſe, upon all goods and merchandize brought into the port of *Cheſter* from parts beyond the ſeas, belonging to perſons not freemen of the city. The *Iriſh* linen adds conſiderably to the fund, being nearly two-thirds of the whole: the duty on this article is two pence on every hundred yards. The annual receipt of the different duties, on the average of the laſt ſeven years, is about 120 *l.* An officer, called a murenger, is choſen out of the body of the aldermen, to inſpect the repairs; generally an old member, to whom the duty affords amuſement and health. This fund is now permanent: in old times, the murage was only occaſional. Thus, in the 14th of *Edward* II. there was a grant for two years of a half-penny for every cranock of corn; and a farthing of ale, meal, and malt; and for commodities not expreſſed in the grant, a farthing out of every two ſhillings-worth.

Murrage.

I cannot diſcover any veſtige of the original walls, ſuch as thoſe which are ſaid to have been reſtored by the warlike *Ethelfleda*. I would not willingly detract from the lady's merit; but I muſt deny her that of being the foundreſs of the fortifications, and of enlarging the city beyond the *Roman* precincts. The form at preſent is ſo entirely *Roman*, that any addition ſhe could make would have deſtroyed the peculiar figure that wiſe people always preſerved in their ſtations or caſtrametations, whereſoever the nature of the ground would permit. The antiquities which diſtinguiſh their reſidence are not found confined to any

one

one quarter: they are met in digging on every ſide within the walls.

The military architecture is ſtill entirely on the *Roman* plan: it is probable, that after their retreat it fell into ruin, in the empoveriſhed, turbulent, and barbarous ages that ſucceeded: yet never was ſo totally demoliſhed, but that it might ſtill yield a defence to the poſſeſſors. We find it wreſted out of the hands of the *Britons* by *Egbert*, in 828: we again ſee it poſſeſſed by the *Danes* in 895, and beſieged by *Alfred*, who ſlew all the banditti whom he found *without the walls*; and, laſtly, we find it taken by *Ethelfleda*, by the voluntary ſurrender of the garriſon. All this proves a continuance of the fortifications, probably ruinous, and wanting that reſtoration which they found from that illuſtrious woman.

We ſee the *Roman* mode of fortification preſerved to this day, exactly on the antient plan. From each ſide of the gates projects a *propugnaculum* † or baſtion, in order to annoy the enemy who attempted to enter; and between them, in the very entrance, was the *cataracta* or portcullis, ready to be dropt in caſe they forced the gates; ſo that part of them might be caught within the walls, and the reſt excluded. Should it happen that they ſet the gates on fire, there were holes above, in order to pour down water to extinguiſh the flames.

The walls are in many parts, eſpecially on the north and eaſt ſides, guarded by towers, placed ſo as not to be beyond bow-ſhot of one another, in order that the archers might reach the enemy who attempted to attack the intervals.

† *Vegetius*, lib. iv. c. 4.

vals ‖. They alſo are moſtly of a round form; as was recommended by the *Roman* architects, in order the better to elude the force of battering rams ‡.

The thickneſs of the walls anſwer to the breadth preſcribed by *Vitruvius*. Only two perſons can walk abreaſt, excepting where the ground adjacent gives a larger expanſe. The great architect directs, that they ſhould be of ſuch a breadth, that two armed men may paſs each other without any impediment.

The city to this time enjoys the four gates, anſwerable to the *principalis dextra & ſiniſtra, prætoria & decumana*. The *Eaſt-gate*, one of the *principales*, exiſted within my memory.

My walk leads me beneath the caſtle, to another of the *principales*, the preſent *Water-gate*, that opens towards the water-ſide; and near which the *Dee* in former times flowed.

Water-tower. At the extreme angle of the city, beyond this gate, is a ſalient tower, exactly round, unleſs where interrupted by a ſmall ſquared projection at the entrance. This tower is joined to the walls by a deep open gallery, embattled on each ſide; beneath is a large arch for the paſſage of the tide, before the late incloſures, which alſo are within my remembrance. This tower is at preſent called the *Water-tower*. It jutted into the antient channel of the river, where the ſhips lay, which faſtened their cables to

‖ Intervalla autem turrium ita ſunt facienda ut ne longius ſit alia ab alia ſagittæ intermiſſione, &c. *Vitruvius*, lib. i. c. 5.

‡ Turres itaque rotundæ aut polygoniæ ſunt faciendæ, *quadratas* enim machinæ celerius diſſipant, &c. Ibid.

Turres ſunt projiciendæ in exteriorem partem, uti cum ad murum hoſtis impetu velit appropinquare, a turribus, &c. Ibid.

to its ſides by the great iron rings infixed in the ſtone. This tower was formerly called the new; yet was founded in 1320; for theſe exiſts a contract for that purpoſe, between the mayor and citizens of *Cheſter* and one *John de Helpſton*, maſon, for building *quandam turrem rotundum*, &c. a round tower 'of the thick-'neſs of ten yards and a half, with a cavity 'within; twenty-four yards high, and ſo ſtrong 'as to be defenſible;' and all this for the ſum of one hundred pounds †.

The next remarkable outlet is the *North-gate*, beyond which is a large ſuburb.

The *Phœnix* tower ſtands on the angle of the walls beyond this gate. The preſent tower was built in 1613, and was uſed by ſix of the companies of the city as a chamber for buſineſs. It took its name from the fabulous bird, the creſt of the painter-ſtainers company, which was placed in front.

The *Eaſt-gate* is the next entrance. Here ſtood a lofty ſquare tower, with many apartments, erected (according to tradition) by *Edward* III. This had been a *Porta principalis*, was the grand entrance into the town, and was the termination of the great *Watling-ſtreet* road, which croſſed the iſland from *Dover*, and was the great road from that port to this place. In 1769, this gate, being found too narrow and inconvenient, was pulled down, and a magnificent arch aroſe in its room, at the ſole expence of *Richard* lord *Groſvenour*. Beyond this is a vaſt ſuburb, called the *Foreſt-ſtreet*; whoſe lower part was defended by a gate, demoliſhed as a nuſance within theſe few years. East gate.

After

† *Harleian* MSS. No. 2046. 10.

After paſſing the *Eaſt-gate*, the traveller will obſerve, without the wall, a vaſt foſs cut through the live rock, now a common road to the water; but which appears to me to have been a work of the *Romans*, as a defence on this ſide, and which continues the rectangular ſhape of the ſtation.

Fine Views. The views from the ſeveral parts of the walls are extremely elegant. The mountains of *Flintſhire* and *Denbighſhire*, the hills of *Broxton*, and the inſulated rock of *Beeſton*, form the ruder part of the ſcenery; a rich flat gives a ſofter view; and the proſpect up the river towards *Boughton* recalls, in ſome degree, the idea of the *Thames* and *Richmond-hill*.

On the Conqueſt, as has been before related, the king viſited this city in perſon, and reſtored the fortifications. It is probable that he only repaired the walls, but that he entirely re-built the caſtle * on the *Norman* model, and enlarged it far beyond the dimenſions of that of the *Saxons*, which occupied the ſummit of the mount or little hill on which the fortreſs ſtands. That part is artificial, in order to give a great elevation, as was cuſtomary in the *Saxon* keeps; and the portion ſo flung up appears here to have been a mixture of ſtones and exceedingly hard clay.

Caſtle. The caſtle is compoſed of two parts, an upper and a lower: each with a ſtrong gate, defended by a round baſtion on each ſide, with a ditch, and formerly with draw-bridges. Within the precincts of the upper *Ballium* are to be ſeen ſome towers of *Norman* architecture, ſquare,

* *Ordericus Vitalis*, 516.

ſquare, with ſquare projections at each corner, very ſlightly ſalient. The handſomeſt is that called *Julius Cæſar*'s. Its entrance is through a large Gothic door, probably of later workmanſhip. The loweſt room has a vaulted roof, ſtrengthened with ordinary ſquare couples. The upper had been a chapel, as appears by the holy-water pot, and ſome figures, almoſt obſolete, painted on the walls. Its dimenſions are nineteen feet four inches, by ſixteen ſix; the height alſo ſixteen feet ſix. The roof is vaulted; but the couples, which are rounded, ſlender, and elegant, run down the walls, and reſt on the cornuted capitals of five ſhort but beautiful round pillars, in the ſame ſtyle with thoſe in the chapter-houſe of the cathedral; probably the work of the ſame architect. The arſenal, ſome batteries, and certain habitable buildings occupy the remaining part.

On the ſides of the lower court ſtands the noble room called *Hugh Lupus*'s hall, in which the courts of juſtice for the county are held. The length is very near ninety-nine feet; the breadth forty-five; the height very awful, and worthy the ſtate-apartment of a great baron. The roof ſupported by wood-work, in a bold ſtyle, carved; and placed on the ſides, reſting on ſtout brackets. Lupus's-Hall.

This magnificent building probably retains its original dimenſions. The character of the firſt *Norman* earl required a hall ſuited to the greatneſs of his hoſpitality; which was confined to no bounds. 'He was,' ſays *Ordericus* *, 'not only liberal, but profuſe. He did not 'carry a family with him, but an army. He 'kept

* Lib. iv. p. 522.

'kept no account of receits or diſburſements. 'He was perpetually waſting his eſtates: and 'was much fonder of falconers and huntſmen, 'than of cultivators of the land and holy men: 'and by his gluttony he grew ſo exceſſively 'fat, that he could hardly crawl about.'

Exchequer. Adjoining to the end of this great hall is the court of exchequer, or the chancery of the county palatine of *Cheſter*. The earl of *Cholmondely* is the preſent chamberlain; Sir *Richard Perrin*, my worthy countryman, ſits and diſcharges the office of vice-chamberlain. In reſpect to matters of equity, he here acts as lord chancellor. The chamberlain was one of the antient earl's great officers, and had a fee of twenty-two pounds a year. This very building is ſaid to have been the parliament-houſe of the little kings of the palatinate. It ſavors of antiquity in the architecture; and within are a number of ſeats deſcribed by Gothic arches and neat pillars; at the upper end are two; one for the earl, the other for the abbot. The eight others were allotted to his eight barons, and occupy one ſide of the room.

Under the vice-chamberlain is a baron, who holds a weekly court, in which appearances are entered for bringing cauſes to a trial. Writs and ſubpœnas are alſo here made out, as well for the great ſeſſions for this county, as for thoſe of the county of *Flint*. Here is, beſides, an examiner; and a ſeal-keeper, who has the charge of the records.

The judges have lodgings within the caſtle, during their circuit by antient cuſtom. Theſe are furniſhed by the ſheriffs of the city. The ſheriffs of the county take care of their horſes; but

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are allowed the expences when they bring in their accounts at the audit.

The county jail for felons and debtors is the laſt place to be deſcribed. I can do little more than confirm the account of it by the humane *Howard*. Their day-confinement is in a little yard, ſurrounded on all ſides by lofty buildings, impervious to the air, excepting from above, and ever unviſited by the purifying rays of the ſun. Their nocturnal apartments are in cells ſeven feet and a half by three and a half, ranged on one ſide of a ſubterraneous dungeon; in each of which are often lodged three or four perſons. The whole is rendered more (wholeſomely) horrible, by being pitched over three or four times in the year. The ſcanty air of their ſtreight priſon-yard is to travel through three paſſages to arrive at them: through the window of an adjacent room; through a grate in the floor of the ſaid room into the dungeon; and finally, through the dungeon, through a little grate above the door of each of their kennels. In ſuch places as theſe are the innocent and the guilty permitted to be lodged, till the law decides their fate. I am ſure the humane keeper, Mr. *Thomas*, muſt feel many a pang at the neceſſary diſcharge of his duty. Mr. HOWARD compares the place to the black-hole at *Calcutta*. The view I had of it, aſſiſted to raiſe the idea of a much worſe priſon; where Jail.

> No light, but rather darkneſs viſible,
> Served only to diſcover ſights of woe.

The conſtable of the caſtle holds his place for life; is properly the keeper of the priſon; but appoints a deputy. He is accounta-

ble for all priſoners and debtors, and anſwerable for their eſcapes.

Priſon forte et Dure.

Within the walls of this fortreſs, was an inſtance of a felon ſuffering *priſon forte et dure*, for ſtanding mute on his trial, till he died of hunger. One *Adam*, ſon of *John*, of the *Woodhouſes*, was, in 1310, the 4th of *Edward* II. committed for burning his own houſes, and carrying away the goods. He ſtood mute; a jury, as uſual, was empannelled, who decided, that he could ſpeak if he pleaſed. On this he was committed *ad dietam*; and afterwards *John le Morgan*, conſtable of the caſtle, teſtified, that the aforeſaid *Adam* was dead *ad dietam* *. This was the origin of the puniſhment of preſſing to death, or the *peine forte et dure*, which ſeems a ſort of merciful haſtening of death; for it muſt have been much more horrible, as well as tedious, in the manner preſcribed by the law of the firſt *Edward*, in whoſe reign it originated. The words of the ſtatute are, 'Qe les felouns ecriez et que ſont aperte-'ment de male fame, et ne ſe voillent mettre 'en enqueſte des felonies qe lem lui mette de-'vant juſtices a la ſuite le Roy, *ſoient mys* 'en la priſon fort et dure, &c.'

The term *ad dietam* was ironical, expreſſive of the ſad ſuſtenance the ſufferer was allowed; *viz.* on the firſt day, three morſels of the worſt bread; on the ſecond, three draughts of water out of the next puddle: and this was to be alternately his daily diet till he died.

MR. RYMER records a ſtrange inſtance of a woman at *Nottingham*, who underwent this puniſhment, and lived forty days without meat or

* *Harleian* MSS. N° 2079. 63.

or drink. This happened in 1357, in the reign of *Edward* III. who, 'ad laudem Dei et glo-'rioſæ virginis MARIÆ matris ſuæ, unde dic-'tum miraculum proceſſit, *ut creditur* *,' granted the ſufferer a free pardon. After mentioning, that it is probable that the miracle was a little aſſiſted by natural means, I muſt obſerve, that, according to this inſtance, the condemned were, in ſome caſes, abſolutely denied any ſpecies of food; in others, it ſeems probable, from the name of the puniſhment of *Adam*, that they ſometimes were allowed that wretched diet which was continued when the puniſhment changed into the *peine dure et forte*.

There is a ſingularity in the manner of the treatment of the priſoners who are releaſed by capital puniſhment out of their dreadful cells, which merits mention. They are delivered by the conſtable or his deputy, at a ſtone called *Glover's-ſtone*, about ninety yards diſtant from the outward gate, into the hands of the ſheriffs of the city; who receive them at that ſtone, which is the extreme limit of the caſtle precincts, and from thence convey them to the place of execution, which they alſo have the charge of. This cuſtom is not accounted for, any more than by tradition, that a felon was formerly reſcued in his way to the gallows by the citizens of *Cheſter*, and perhaps by the connivance of the magiſtrates, who are ſuppoſed to have had the diſagreeable duty inflicted on them of executing all criminals, whether they are of the county or the city.

* The woman's name was *Cæcilia*, indicted for the murder of her huſband *Johnde Rygeway*. *Rymer's* Fœdera, vi. 13.

The city was ſeparated from the caſtle, and made a county of itſelf, by the charter of *Henry* VII; the caſtle was left as an appertinance to the ſhire; and has the ſmall outlet of a little ſtreet called *Glover's-ſtone*, which is alſo independent of the city; and in which non-freemen may ſet up any trade unmoleſted by the corporation.

Glover's Stone.

The caſtle has a governor, lieutenant-governor, and conſtable; and is garriſoned by two companies of invalids.

The civil goverment and architecture is next to be taken notice of. I have, in my account of *Saxon* and *Norman* CHESTER, given a brief relation of the government of the city in thoſe periods. I ſhall at preſent only mention the principal charters; and flatter myſelf, that the reader will excuſe my brevity, not only as it is beyond the power of the travelling topographer to collect the ſame materials as the reſident; but becauſe his curioſity will, it is to be hoped, ſoon be ſatisfied by the publication of the hiſtory of this city by the Reverend Doctor GOWER, which will amply ſupply all my deficiencies.

Charters.

The firſt royal charter which this was honoured with is that of *Henry* III; who confirms all the privileges beſtowed on them by the *Norman* earls, and, I imagine, firſt ſtung the government into the form of a regular corporation; for he grants and confirms to them, that none ſhall buy or ſell merchandiſe in the city except citizens, unleſs it be in the fairs, under the penalty of ten pounds.

EDWARD I. gave the city of *Cheſter*, with the appertenances, and all the liberties and privileges, to its citizens and their heirs, to

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be holden of him and his heirs for ever, paying annually 100*l.*; he alſo granted them the election of a coroner, and pleas of the crown; and that they ſhould have ſock*, ſack, toll, theme, infangthefe, and freedom throughout all the land and dominion, of toll, paſſage, *&c.*

EDWARD III. confirmed the paſt grants, and added another, of all the vacant lands within the liberty of the city, with leave for the citizens to build on ſuch vacant ſpots.

EDWARD the black prince preſcribed by particular names the boundaries of the city, beginning at the *Iron-bridge*, and from thence to *Saltney*, the *Port-pool*, *Flukerſbrook*, *Boughton*, &c.

RICHARD II. was particularly kind to his favourite city. In conſideration of ſome diſtreſſes it had undergone, he releaſed them from the payment of ſeventy-three pounds ten ſhillings and eight-pence arrears of rent due to the crown: he gave them the profits of the ferry towards the rebuilding and repairing of *Dee* bridge: he made the two grants of the murage, the firſt for four yerrs, the ſecond for five, for the repairs of the walls. But

* SOCK, he who is inveſted with this, has power to hold courts within his own lands. SACK, power of deciding complaints and quarrels, and applying to his own uſe the fines reſulting from ſuch deciſions within his own territory. Toll, needs no explanation. THEME, the right to diſpoſe of all his bondſmen, their children, and goods. INFANGTHEFE, the power of apprehending, in his own lands, thieves, whether they be his own people or thoſe of another lord. OUTFANGTHEFE, is the power of ſeizing, in any perſon's land, a vaſſal of his own, who has committed a robbery within his juriſdiction, and bringing him to a trial to his own court. *Vide* Skene, de verb. ſignific. and *Somner*'s Gloſſ.

But in the 22d year of his reign, 'for the furtherance of juſtice in the ſame city, and better execution thereof, he grants unto his 'ſubjects, mayors, ſheriffs, and commonalty of 'the ſaid city, to hold their courts; and limited what proceſſes they might award in 'actions, perſonal felonies, appeals, proceſſes of utlagary, as at common law. Granted 'under the ſeal of the principality of *Cheſter*, 'at *Cheſter*, *May* 2, 1398 *.' This ſeems to have been found neceſſary, in order to ſtrengthen the civil policy of this place, which had four years before been greatly inſulted by a dreadful riot in the abby by Sir *Baldwyne* of *Radyngſtone*, ſupported by Sir *John* of *Stanley* with eight hundred men. A ſheriff was killed, and many other exceſſes committed †.

After the revolution which happened in 1399, the mayor and citizens continued to favour the cauſe of their depoſed maſter; and after his death, gave all the aſſiſtance in their power to *Harry Percy*. On his defeat, they obtained the royal pardon; and in order to conciliate their affections, young *Henry* prince of *Wales*, and earl of *Cheſter*, confirmed all their former charters and privileges; and afterwards granted to them the profits of murage and bridge tower, where tolls were collected, *durante bene placito*.

In a confirmation of the former charters by *Henry* VI. we learn the former concourſe of ſtrangers; the greatneſs of the commerce of *Cheſter*, by reaſon of the goodneſs of its port; and the great trade carried on in proviſions into and out of *Wales*. It farther recites the melancholy

* *King*, ii. 159. † *Harleian* MSS. N° 2057. 34.

melancholy change of affairs; the conflux of foreign merchants being put a ſtop to by the choaking of the creek with ſands; and the intercourſe with *Wales* deſtroyed, ſince the inſurrection of *Owen Glendwr*: which conſiderations moved the king to remit ten pounds of the ancient fee-farm rent.

The proviſions alluded to were probably cheeſes, on the part of the citizens of *Cheſter*; and perhaps wines, ſpices, and other foreign luxuries; for which they might receive in exchange from the *Welſh*, cattle of different kinds.

HENRY VII. in 1506, in conſideration of farther diſtreſſes of the city, not only remitted eighty pounds of its annual rent; but granted it a new charter, by which he ſeparated it from the county, and granted it ſeveral of the moſt valuable privileges which it ſtill enjoys: but being a county palatine, and in the time of *Edward* I. veſted in the crown, never received ſummons, either for county or city, to return members to parliament, till the reign of *Henry* VIII. when the county, in 1543, was empowered to ſend two knights, and the city two citizens. The electors of the laſt are the freemen of the city; the returning-officers the ſheriffs. Members.

The corporation conſiſts of a mayor, recorder, two ſheriffs, twenty-four aldermen, and forty common-council. Here are beſide two annual officers, called *leave-lookers*, whoſe buſineſs was to prevent all perſons who are not free of the city from exerciſing any trade, or expoſing to ſale any wares or merchandiſe within the liberties. They were accuſtomed to go round the city in order to preſerve theſe its privileges; and ſometimes were uſed Corporation.

to

to take ſmall ſums, called *leave-lookerage*, for *leave* for non-freemen to ſell wares by retail; but at preſent the yeoman of the Pentiſe diſcharges this office, and returns the names of ſuch perſons who are found to offend, in order that actions might be brought againſt them. We find, as early as 1297, that ſimilar officers were elected, under the name of *cuſtos guild mercator*; and who diſcharged the ſame function *.

Pentiſe. The places where the mayor and other officers of the corporation aſſemble for the diſpatch of buſineſs, or adminiſtration of juſtice, are two; the firſt is the Pentiſe, an antient building in the center of the city, near the junction of the four principal ſtreets. Mention is made of the north-ſide having been builded in 1497. Here all buſineſs within the cognizance of a juſtice of the peace is tranſacted; the aldermen that have paſt the chair being empowered to act as long as they wear the gown. Here alſo the ſheriffs, aſſiſted by the recorder, ſit and determine civil cauſes.

Prætorium. I imagine that this building, St. *Peter*'s church, and a few houſes to the north and weſt, occupy the ſite of the *Roman Prætorium*; for they not only fill the very ſituation of that part of the old caſtrametations, but account for the diſcontinuance of the *Bridge ſtreet*, which ceaſes oppoſite to theſe edifices. This alſo is the cauſe why the nearer part of the *North-gate ſtreet* is thrown out of its courſe, and falls into the *Eaſt-gate ſtreet*, many yards beyond the mouth of the *Bridge ſtreet*; for the lower part of the *North-gate ſtreet*, where the exchange and ſhambles ſtand, points

* *King*, ii. 167.

points directly towards the former; but is interrupted by the ſpace occupied by theſe buildings. The limit of the *Prætorium* on the eaſt, was the narrow portion of *North-gate ſtreet*; on the ſouth, part of the preſent *Bridge*, *Eaſtgate*, and *Water-gate ſtreets*; on the weſt *Goſs-lane*; and on the north, the ſpace now occupied by the fiſh-market. The *prætorium*, with its attendants, demanded no ſmall ſpace; for, beſides the ſpot poſſeſſed by the general, were the apartments of the *imperatoris contubernales*, or the young nobility immediately under his care; the *augulare*, where prayers, ſacrifices, and other religious rites were performed, which might have ſtood on the ſite of the modern church; and the general might have had his tribunal on the very ſpot where the worſhipful corporation at preſent ſit for the redreſs of grievances.

The courts of juſtice were held in the common hall, a large and commodious room over the exchange, adorned with the portraits of ſeveral popular perſons: among them is a full-length of Sir *William Williams*, recorder of this city, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in the reign of *Charles* II. and ſolicitor-general in that of his ſucceſſor. In this place are held a crown-mote court, portmote court, and court of ſeſſions. The mayor, aſſiſted by the recorder, is judge of the crown-mote court, with the ſame aſſiſtant. This court holds plea in all actions real, perſonal, and mixed. In the court of ſeſſions. the aldermen above the chair try petty-larcenies, and determine upon inferior offences. In this place, the body corporate hold their aſſemblies for making bye-laws for Exchange

for the government of the city; for managing the public buildings and directing the charities; and finally, the city elections of magiſtrates, as well as members, are made in this court.

The only remains of any *hotel*, and that of no antient date, ſtood in *Old Common-hall lane*; which, when entire, ſurrounded a ſquare, and communicated with *Water-gate ſtreet*. It was founded by Sir *Thomas Egerton*, chamberlain of *Cheſter*, afterwards lord chancellor of *England*, and deſigned by him for a dwelling-houſe. The ſmall remainder, which faced the lane, and was occupied by a poor family, on the 5th of *November* 1772, was the ſcene of a dreadful calamity. The firſt floor was engaged by a puppet-ſhow man; and at the moment he was exhibiting to a very full audience, by ſome unknown accident 800 pounds weight of gunpowder, which was lodged in a warehouſe beneath, took fire, and blew up three ſtories. Twenty-three people periſhed, and eighty-three were much burnt, bruiſed, and received broken and diſlocated limbs; of which number only three died, and thoſe with locked jaws. The remedy found moſt efficacious for the burnt, was *Goulard*'s extract of lead.

The external effects of this exploſion were theſe: the windows and broken glaſs of ſeveral of the neighbouring houſes fell outwards; from which it appears, that they were not broken by the ſhock of the gunpowder, but by the preſſure of the air within the apartments which ruſhed out into the *vacuum* occaſioned by the exploſion. A ſimilar phænomenon has been remarked from an exploſion from the inflammable vapour of a mine, when the neighbouring trees fell towards the blaſt. Howſo-

ever,

ever, where the force of the powder was confined by narrow paſſages, its centrifugal effect took place; for two boys, walking along the rows in *Water-gate ſtreet*, oppoſite to a paſſage leading to the building, were blown, one againſt the rails, the other into the ſtreet; and the roof of a houſe was blown off, oppoſite a paſſage into *Common-hall lane*.

It is much to be wiſhed, that the eaſy magiſtracy of this city would, from this dire accident, take into conſideration the ſafety of the whole, in preference to the conveniency of a few lazy individuals; and either compel them to keep by them only the legal quantity, or at their ſeſſion appoint proper places for lodging gunpowder. This is the ſecond tremendous warning of the ſame nature which the city hath been viſited with. On the firſt of *April* 1726, the ſhop of Mr. *Thomas Murray* in *Bridge-ſtreet*, and the houſe, were blown up; and himſelf and a young gentleman killed. Notwithſtanding this double admonition, I fear its attention ſtill continues lethargic.

The ſurviving ſufferers of this calamity were relieved * in the well-regulated infirmary eſtabliſhed here, and ſupported by the voluntary contributions from the city, county, and neighbouring parts of *Wales*. It is a handſome building, in an airy ſituation, and detached from the ſtreets. This charity was founded in 1756, and originated from a bequeſt of 300*l.* by Dr. *Stratford*, commiſſary of *Richmond*, towards the commencing of a public hoſpital in this city. Subſcriptions were circulated, and

* 630*l.* were alſo immediately collected from the inhabitants of the city, to be immediately diſtributed among theſe miſerable maimed objects.

and a ſum equal to the deſign ſoon raiſed. Before the preſent building could be ready for the reception of patients, a temporary infirmary was prepared for them, in 1756, in *Northgate ſtreet*. The new infirmary was opened on the 17th of *March* 1761; and has been ſupported with a ſpirit that does honour to the environs; which has enabled the managers to receive, ſince its inſtitution, not fewer than thirteen thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſix objects of relief. The portrait of the founder is placed in the council-room of the infirmary; a three quarters piece, ſitting, in a long wig and civilian's gown.

I ſhall now take a ſhort view of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of this antient city. It is neceſſary firſt to obſerve, that the *Mercian* kingdom was divided into five biſhopricks; *Lichfield*, *Cheſter*, *Worceſter*, *Lydneceſter*, and *Dorcheſter*; which laſt was afterwards removed to *Lincoln*. *Lichfield* was made, about the year 785, metropolitan, by order of *Offa*, and afterwards, for a long ſpace, incorporated into itſelf its ſuffragan, *Cheſter*. How greatly the laſt flouriſhed is evident from an account of its annual payment to the pope in very early times; for, *Lichfield* paid only three thouſand florins, our ſee advanced five thouſand. No wonder that its jealouſy ſhould be excited! Very little is known of the ſtate of this church in the *Saxon* period. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that a biſhop of *Lichfield*, of the name of *Peter*, in the year 1075, removed his epiſcopal ſeat to *Cheſter*; and during his life made uſe of the church of St. *John*'s for his cathedral. This tranſlation was of very ſhort date; for his ſucceſſor eſtabliſhed himſelf in the former dioceſe, and *Cheſter* continued without a biſhop till the diſſolu-

tion of monaſteries; when, in 1541, *Henry* VIII. reſtored it to its former honour, by creating it one of the ſix * new ſees formed on that great event; and converted the church of the late abby of St. *Werburgh* into the cathedral.

The firſt of the new biſhops was *John Bird*, a *Carmelite*, and provincial of the order; a man ſubſervient to the court; who, by preaching againſt the pope's ſupremacy, ſo recommended himſelf to the king as to obtain the biſhoprick of *Bangor*; from whence he was removed to *Cheſter*, as a fit perſon to ſuit the rapacity of the times. In 1546, he granted away the whole of the manors and demeſnes of the ſee, and, accepting impropriation inſtead of them, left his ſucceſſors not a ſingle acre, excepting that on which the palace ſtands, and the court before it; another houſe, adjacent; a little orchard called the *Woodyard*; two houſes near St. *John*'s church; and a few ſmall tenements in the city of *York*. Notwithſtanding the ſum he amaſſed, he was found, at the acceſſion of *Mary*, in debt to the crown 1087 *l.* 18 *s.* for tenths and ſubſidies; a vaſt ſum for the times! His intereſt with biſhop *Bonner* ſtill would have ſaved him, had he not committed (in thoſe days) the heinous crime of matrimony, for which he was deprived in 1554.

He left his dioceſe one of the leaſt in value, yet greateſt in extent, of any in *England*; for it reaches from *Hawarden* in *Flintſhire*, to the river *Derwent* in *Cumberland*: comprehending the entire counties of *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire*;

part

* *Weſtminſter*, *Oxford*, *Briſtol*, *Peterborough*, and *Cheſter*. The firſt was ſuppreſſed in the reign of queen *Mary*.

part of *Weſtmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and *Richmondſhire* in *Yorkſhire*; the chapelries of *Holt* and *Iſcoed*; the churches of *Hawerden*, *Hanmer*, *Bangor*, *Worthenbury*, and the chapelry of *Orton Madroc*, in the adjacent parts of *Wales*.

Abby.

The abby, out of which this ſee was formed, was of great antiquity. Hiſtory relates, that it had been originally a nunnery, founded about the year 660, by *Wulpherus*, king of the *Mercians*, in favour of his daughter's indiſpoſition to a married life. This was the celebrated St. *Werburgh*, who took the veil after living immaculate for three years with her huſband *Ceolredus*, after the example of her aunt, the great *Ethelreda*; who cohabited for three years with no leſs purity with her firſt ſpouſe *Tonberctus*, and for twelve with her ſecond, the pious prince *Egfrid*. St. *Werburgh* preſided over ſeveral *Mercian* monaſteries, died at *Tricengham*, and by her own order was interred at *Heanburge*; but on the approach of the *Danes*, in 875, her body was conveyed to *Cheſter*, as a place of ſecurity from the inſults of thoſe pagans *.

It is uncertain how long this community exiſted. It probably was ruined by the ravages of the barbarians in 895, and finally ſuppreſſed; for we are told †, that from the reign of king *Athelſtan*, in 925, to the coming of the *Normans*, a ſet of canons ſecular were eſtabliſhed in the place of the nuns. This pious deed was that of *Ethelfleda*; who reſtored the buildings; which afterwards were repaired by earl *Leofric*, huſband to the famous *Godiva*. The houſe was richly endowed by the kings *Edmund*

* *Higden*, in *Gale*, iii. 240. † Ibid.

Edmund and *Edgar*, and by *Leofric*. *Edgar*'s charter begins in a ſtrain equally pious and ſublime *.

On the acceſſion of *Hugh Lupus* to this earldom, he ſuppreſſed the canons ſecular, and eſtabliſhed in their place a colony of his countrymen, *Benedictines*, from *Bec* in *Normandy*; for probably he did not care to truſt his ſalvation to the prayers of the *Saxon* religious. It is ſaid, that this piece of piety was owing to a fit of illneſs which the earl was ſeized with; when he took the uſual way in thoſe days of ſoothing a troubled conſcience. *Anſelm*, abbot of *Bec*, and afterwards archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, regulated the new foundation; and appointed his chaplain *Richard* to be the firſt abbot. *Lupus*, and his ſucceſſors were very liberal in their endowments †; and the place flouriſhed till its diſſolution; which was effected by the ſurrender of the laſt abbot, *Thomas Clerk*; who received in reward the office of the new deanry, which he enjoyed only ſix weeks. The revenues of this great abby were, according to *Dugdale*, 1003 *l.* 5 *s.* 11 *d.* to *Speed*, 1073 *l.* 17 *s.* 7 *d.*

According to a ſurvey of this abby, preſerved in the *Harleian* collection, its extent was very conſiderable; ſurrounding the preſent ſquare, and covering ſeveral parts of the adjacent ground. The old abby-court is adorned on two ſides by very handſome modern houſes, built between the years 1750 and 1754, on leaſes granted by the dean and chapter. Another ſide is filled by the new palace; an elegant pile, which roſe under the auſpices of that munificent and hoſpitable prelate *Edmund Keen*,

* *Dugdale*, Monaſt. i. 200. † Idem, 985, &c.

Keen, preſent biſhop of *Ely*. Its place was before occupied by the houſe of the antient abbots.

The old gate is yet ſtanding: is a plain but noble entrance; and conſiſts, towards the ſtreet, of two Gothic arches included within a round one, of great diameter; and which appears to have been of far older date. One ſide was the porter's lodge; and the other, a place called St. *Thomas*'s court. A chapel, dedicated to the ſame ſaint, ſtood where the preſent deanry is; and, from its antient appearance, ſeems to have been externally the ſame building.

The cloiſters are entire; but conſiſt only of three walks, the court extending on one ſide quite to the church. By the different arms on the roof, it appears to have been repaired at ſeveral times, from the time of *Edward* III. to that of *Wolſey*; whoſe arms, with thoſe of the ſee of *York*, with the cardinal's cap, are alſo to be ſeen here.

School. On one ſide ſtood the fratry; a vaſt room, which is uſed as a free-ſchool, founded by *Henry* VIII, in the 36th year of his reign, for twenty-four boys, who are appointed by the dean and chapter: they may continue there four years, if their conduct be regular; but the dean has power to grant a year of grace. No boy (unleſs he be a choiriſter) ought to be choſen before he is nine years old, or after he is fifteen. Two maſters are appointed for their inſtruction, a chief and an under maſter; elected by the dean and chapter.

In a corner of the eaſt-ſide of the cloiſter, is a paſſage and ſtairs to the dormitory; and the antient prieſts cellars and kitchen. On the ſame ſide is a paſſage, formerly called the Maidens aile, which

which leads to the little abby-court, a part of the antient building belonging to the prebends.

The beautiful edifice, the chapter-houſe, ſtands in the ſame walk of the cloiſter. The veſtibule is arched, ſupported by four columns, each ſurrounded with eight ſlender pilaſters without capitals, which converge near the top of the column, and ſpread over the roof. The dimenſions of this room are thirty-three feet four inches, by twenty-ſeven four; the height twelve feet nine. On the ſides is a ſtone-ſeat for the attendants on the buſineſs of the chapter. Chapter-House.

The chapter-houſe is fifty feet long, twenty-ſix feet broad, and thirty-five feet high; at the upper end is a window, conſiſting of five-lancet-ſhaped diviſions; and on each ſide is another of three. At the height of eight feet and a half from the floor, a narrow gallery runs along three parts of the room, divided from the windows by a triplet of moſt elegant, lofty, ſlender pillars. The roof is of ſtone; the ſprings of the arches which ſecure it, are ſupported by neat pilaſters with palmy capitals.

The modern book-caſes deform the lower parts of the room, as high as the bottoms of the windows. The walls, I conjecture, had been ornamented with pilaſters, and had a ſtone-ſeat like that of the veſtibule. The entrance, both from the cloiſters and between the veſtibule and the chapter-houſe, are Gothic; but apparently of a later ſpecies of architecture than either of thoſe rooms.

The chapter-houſe was built, in all probability, in the time of *Randle the firſt*, earl of *Cheſter*, who died in 1128, after enjoying his

earldom eight years. The great earl, *Hugh Lupus*, uncle to *Randle*, had been interred in the church-yard of the abby: the firſt care of the nephew was to remove the body into this building *, as the moſt honourable place; a reſpect which would certainly have been paid to it, had this edifice exiſted at the time of his death. Here his remains continued unmoleſted till the year 1724, when, in digging within the chapter-houſe, they were found in a ſtone coffin, wrapped in leather, with a croſs on the breaſt; and at the head of the coffin a ſtone in ſhape of a T, with the wolf's head, the alluſion to his name, engraven on it. Other coffins were diſcovered beneath the two rooms, of earls, their counteſſes, or of abbots; but the great leveller death had reduced them to duſt indiſtinguiſhable.

The earls who were interred here, were *Hugh* who died in 1101; *Randle the firſt*, or *de Meſchines*, in 1128; *Randle the ſecond*, or *de Gernouns*, who was poiſoned in 1155, by *William Peverel*; *Hugh Cyveliac*, who died at *Leek* in 1181; *Randle the third*, or *de Blundeville*, who died at *Wallingford* in 1232, where his bowels were interred; his heart was buried at the abby of *Dieulacres* in *Staffordſhire*, and his body tranſported to *Cheſter*: finally, *John Scot*, who in 1237, underwent the ſame fate as *Randle the ſecond*. So that every earl of the *Norman* line were depoſited here, excepting *Richard*, who periſhed by ſhipwreck in 1120§.

* *Leiceſter's* Hiſt. Antiq. 127.

§ The particulars of the deaths of this illuſtrious line may be ſeen in LEICESTER; or in DUGDALE's *Baronage*, *i.* 32, *&c.*

Of the abbots, *Geofry*, who died in 1208, and ſix others, were buried in the chapter-houſe or its veſtibule *.

The church bounds the north-ſide of the cloiſters. The lower part of the wall has a row of arches, now filled up, and favors more of antiquity than any other part. This, and a portion of the north-tranſepts, are the oldeſt parts of the preſent building; but there is no part left at preſent that can boaſt of a remote date. All the labours of the *Saxons*, and almoſt all of thoſe of its re-founder *Hugh Lupus*, are now loſt. The abbot, *Simon Ripley*, who was elected in 1485, finiſhed the middle aile and the tower. The body is ſupported by ſix ſharp-pointed arches. The columns are thick, ſurrounded by pilaſters with ſmall rounded capitals. Above is a gallery, with a neat ſtone baluſtrade in the parts where it is entire, and a row of large and broady pointed windows; which is the general ſtyle.

The preſent cathedral appears to have been built (excepting the ſlight fragments juſt mentioned) in the reigns of *Henry* VI. VII. and VIII; but principally in that of the two laſt. The beautiful weſt-end was begun in 1508, and the firſt ſtone laid with much ceremony. The window over the door is filled with beautiful tracery; and the door-caſe enriched with figures and other ſculpture. The deſcent into the church is down a multitude of ſteps; ſo there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that the preſent was on the foundation of the antient church; which had been on a level with the old ſtreets, which we know are many feet higher than they were originally, by the acceſſion of rubbiſh, and other adventitious matter.

* *Willis*'s Cathedrals, i. 323.

The center beneath the great tower is greatly injured by a modern bell-loft, which conceals a crown-work of ſtone, that would have a good effect was the loft deſtroyed.

From the ſprings of arches that appear in the walls of the nave and its ailes, it appears as if the architect had intended to have vaulted them, in the manner in which St. *Mary*'s chapel and the choiral ailes are done.

The choir is very neat; and the Gothic tabernacle-work over the ſtalls carved in a light and elegant manner. The arches in the galleries are divided by pretty ſlender pillars; and perhaps were of a date prior to the body of the church; probably the work of abbot *Oldham*, who was a benefactor, and had a concern in the building.

In the chancel are four ſtone-ſtalls for the officiating prieſts, with carved Gothic work above; a receſs or two for the preſerving either the reliques or the ſacred utenſils. About the walls are diſperſed the monuments of ſeveral biſhops and churchmen; but none of any magnificence; and one of Sir *William Manwaring*, a gallant young man, who fell in the defence of the city during its long ſiege.

The biſhop's throne ſtands on a ſtone baſe, as remarkable for its ſculpture as its original uſe. Its form is an oblong ſquare; and each ſide moſt richly ornamented with Gothic carving, arches, and pinnacles. Around the upper part is a range of little images, deſigned to repreſent the kings and ſaints of the *Mercian* kingdom. Each held in one hand a ſcroll with the name inſcribed. Fanatic ignorance mutilated many of the labels, as well as the figures; but the laſt were reſtored about the year 1748; but

but the workman, by an unlucky miſtake, has placed female heads on male ſhoulders, and given manly faces to the bodies of the fair-ſex. At firſt, there were thirty-four figures: four are loſt; the remainder are faithfully deſcribed, and the hiſtory of each monarch and ſaint accurately given, in a little pamphlet, publiſhed in 1749, by the worthy Doctor *William Cooper*, who dedicated the profits for the uſe of the blue-coat hoſpital in this city. I beg leave to diſſent from the notion of this having been the ſhrine of St. *Werbugh*, as it is popularly called. It certainly was nothing more than the pedeſtal on which the real ſhrine, or, as the *French* call it, *la chaſſe*, ſtood, which contained the ſacred reliques. Theſe are made of gold, ſilver, vermeil, *i. e.* ſilver gilt, or ſome precious materials, and often enriched with gems of great value. They are of different forms, ſuch as churches, cabinets, *&c.* and, ſhould the relique be a head, or limb, the *chaſſe* is made conformable to the ſhape of the part. Theſe are ſeated uſually conſpicuous on an elevated place; and are always moveable, in order that they may be carried in proceſſion, either in honour of the ſaint, or to divert ſome great calamity. Thus, in 1180, the ſhrine of St. *Werburgh* was brought out to ſtop the rage of a fire in the city, which for a long time was invincible by every other means; but the approach of the holy remains inſtantly proved their ſanctity, by putting an end to its furious deſolation.

St. Werburgh's ſhrine.

Before I take leave of this part of the church, I muſt mention an impious outrage committed at the high altar in 1492, by a gentleman of *Wales*, who wounded almoſt to death one *Patrick Filling*, I ſuppoſe the officiating prieſt.

Aſſaſſination.

The

The church, as uſual, was immediately ſuſpended, till a luſtration in order to purify it from the foul ſtain was performed. The abby was reconciled on St. *Werburgh*'s day; the pariſh-church on that of St. *Oſwald* *.

An impiety of this kind was committed in the church of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*, in 1670 †. The prieſt died of his wound; and expiation was made by order of the archbiſhop: public prayers were offered up for forty hours in all churches; proceſſions made; a faſt of three days appointed. The whole terminated by a general *reparation*, ſatisfaction of the injury by a grand proceſſion, in which the whole parliament aſſiſted. The ſtreets were covered with tapeſtry, and the avenues barred up with the chains to keep off the mob; and thus the place was reſtored to the diſcharge of the ſacred offices.

It is with a kind of horror I read in the zealous *Fox*, of an outrage of this ſort committed in our own kingdom, in the reign of queen *Mary* §. The enthuſiaſt was taken, and puniſhed by the ſtriking off the criminal's hand, and by being burnt: yet the hiſtorian gives him a place among the more well-meaning ſufferers of that barbarous period.

Behind the choir is St. *Mary*'s chapel; and on each ſide is an aile. The monuments in theſe parts are in no wiſe remarkable. In its north-aile is a tomb with a flowery croſs, that of an abbot; and another of an altar-form, aſcribed to *Henry* IV. emperor of *Germany*, who according to a legendary tale, was ſaid to

* *King*, ii. 189. Pieces Juſtif. iii. 212.

† *Felibien* Hiſt. *Paris*. ii. 1500.

§ Martyrs, iii.

to have escaped from his troubles, and to have resided in *Godstall-lane*, in this city; to have died there; and to have been interred in the abby. It is very uncertain whether this great but calamitous prince was ever in our kingdom; but it is very certain he finished his days at *Liege* *, in 1106, and was magnificently interred in the cathedral of that city.

The transepts are of unequal lengths. The north is very large, dedicated to St. *Oswald*, and is the parish-church of that name. This is said to have stood on the first church of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; which was afterwards changed to that of the *Holy Trinity*; and finally, to the name it now bears. On the rebuilding of the church, this aile was designedly enlarged, and allotted by the monks to the neighbouring inhabitants, who were for the most part their servants or tenants. At first, the religious wished to have the whole to themselves, and on that account built, at a distance from this aile, a chapel called St. *Nicholas*'s, and endowed it with a vicarage, for the use of the laity; but afterwards, at the request of the inhabitants, and by composition between the mayor and abbot, about the year 1488, they were restored to the use of the church of St. *Oswald*, which they still retain †.

The chapel falling into disuse, was purchased by the citizens, and converted into their common-hall for dispatch of business §. In later times, since the building of the exchange, it has been converted into a magazine for wool;

* Modern Univ. Hist. xxxix. 95. † *King*, ii. 39. 196.

§ It is probable that there had been a more antient common-hall; a lane in this city still retains the name of *Old Common-hall lane*.

wool; into a carrier's warehouſe; and part into a theatre, acting under parliamentary licenſe.

This abby afforded only a temporary ſanctuary to the profligate. The privilege which *Hugh Lupus* granted is particular: he ordered, that no thief or other malefactor, that attended the fair held at the feaſt of St. *Werburgh*, ſhould be attached, unleſs he committed ſome new offence there §. This, ſays *King*, drew a vaſt concourſe of looſe people together at that ſeaſon, and proved of ſingular advantage to *Randle the third*, earl of *Cheſter*; who, in being ſurrounded in the caſtle of *Rhudland* by a numerous army of *Welſh*, and in great danger, ſent for relief to his general, *Roger Lacy*, at that time attending the midſummer-fair. *Lacy* inſtantly collected a body of minſtrels, fiddlers, and idle people, who were aſſembled here on account of this privilege; marched with them into *Wales*, and relieved the earl from his diſtreſs. *Randle*, on his return, immediately rewarded *Lacy* with a full power over all the inſtruments of his preſervation, *magiſterium omnium lecatorum et meretricam totius* CESTRESHIRE. By this grant he was empowered to require the attendance of all the minſtrels and muſicians of the county on the anniverſary of the exploit. They were to play before him and his heirs for ever, in a proceſſion to the church of St. *John*; and, after divine ſervice, to the place where he kept his court. The minſtrels were there examined concerning their lives and converſation; whether any of them played without annual licence from their lord, or whether they had heard any words among their fellows tending

§ *Leiceſter*, 119.

tending to his diſhonour. Theſe privileges were afterwards devolved by *John*, ſon of *Roger de Lacy*, to *Hugh de Dutton* and his heirs. The proceſſion and courts were held by their ſteward within my memory; but the cuſtom is now dropt. I find alſo, that *Dutton* and his heirs claimed at the feaſt from the minſtrels, *quatuor lagenas vini et unam lancem*, four bottles of wine, and one lance; and at the ſame time a fee of four pence halfpenny: and from every *Meretrix* in *Cheſhire*, and in the city of *Cheſter*, *officium ſuum exercente*, four pence *.

The other religious houſes in this city were, the *Carmelites*, or *White friers*, who had a convent in that part of St. *Martin*'s pariſh ſtill called *White-friers lane*: part of Mr. *Marſden*'s houſe is formed of the remains. The church, as appears by *Braun*'s view of this city in 1581, ſtood a little weſt of it. Carmelites.

By the charter of *Roger Lacy* to the abby of *Norton*, it appears, that there was a monaſtery in the pariſh of St. *Michael* †, which he grants to the canons of the former. We are left ignorant of the order it was of.

In *Trinity* pariſh ſtood a houſe of *Franciſcan* or *Grey friers*, which biſhop *Tanner* conjectures might have been as antient as the time of *Henry* III. The ſite was granted to one *John Cokke*. I imagine that this ſtood in the *Yatch field*, near the place occupied by the new linen-hall. By *Speed*'s plan of *Cheſter*, it appears that there was a church there in his time; and to this day painted tiles and painted glaſs, reliques of eccleſiaſtical finery, are ſtill dug up.

In

* *Leiceſter*, 142. † *Dugdale*, *Monaſt.* ii. 185.

In the parish of St. *Martin's** was a monastery of preaching or *Black friers*, said by *Speed* to have been founded by a bishop of *Chester*, meaning (as *Tanner* observes) of *Lichfield*. This, as well as the other religious house in this parish, was granted to the same *John Cokke*. Part of this house, and its fine vaults, are occupied by *Henry Hesketh* esquire.

St. John's

ST. JOHN'S, which lies without the walls on the east-side of the city, was once a collegiate church, reputed to have been founded by king *Ethelred* in 689, on being admonished by a vision to build it on the spot where he should find a white hind. After the ruin of the city by the *Danes*, the church was restored by his namesake, earl of *Mercia*, in 906; and was in the next century repaired and endowed by earl *Leofric*. A monastery was also founded here; for historians record, that king *Edgar* was rowed from his palace to the monastery of St. *John*.

The Doomsday book also mentions the monastery of St. *Mary*, near the same church. This, besides, was the cathedral during the short time the see was removed from *Lichfield* by bishop *Peter*. In an old plan of it appears a house called the bishop's.

At the dissolution, here was found a dean and seven prebendaries or canons (in the collation of the bishop of *Lichfield*); seven vicars, two clerks, four choristers, sextons, and other servants; most of whose houses are distinguished in the same plan. The yearly revenue, after repriſals, was only 27 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* The site of the college, and some part of

* Rather in that of *Trinity*; 9*s*. 2*d h*. are paid at the audit for the site of it.

of the buildings, were granted by queen *Elizabeth* to *John Forteſcue* *.

On the eaſt-ſide of the church-yard ſtood the chapel of St. *Anne*, belonging to the brethren and ſiſters of the fraternity of St. *Anne* †. This in later days was called *Cholmondly* hall; but is now totally demoliſhed.

S. JOHN'S, when entire, was a magnificent pile. The tower once ſtood in the center; but falling down in 1574, was never rebuilt. The chancel was probably demoliſhed at the ſame time; but at that end are ſome fine arches, and other remains of antient chapels. Withinſide are curious ſpecimens of the clumſy ſtrength of *Saxon* architecture, in the maſſy columns of round arches which ſupport the body. The tower is now placed at the weſt-end; and has on one ſide the legend, repreſented by the figure of a man and a hind.

On the ſouth-ſide of the church-yard, impending over a high cliff, ſuppoſed to be the *Radeclive* of the Doomſday book, is a ſmall antient building, probably a chapel, called the *Anchoritage*, placed over the retreat of ſome holy hermits. This might have been their place of ſepulture; for in the live rock were found two bodies depoſited in coffin-ſhaped cavities. This might have been the place, where the legend ſays that *Harold*, the laſt *Saxon* king, ended his days; for it was long believed by the *Engliſh*, that he eſcaped from the battle of *Haſtings*, and finiſhed his life in retirement.

Doctor TANNER ſuppoſes, that the convent of *Benedictine* nuns, dedicated to St. *Mary*, origi-

* *Tanner*, 57. † *Harleian* MSS. No 1994. 69.

originated either from the monaſtery of St. *John*, or was a relique of one of the old nunneries belonging to St. *Werburgh*. This, perhaps, may have been the caſe; for, from a charter preſerved by *Dugdale*, it appears, that *Randle the ſecond*, earl of *Cheſter*, had obtained *for the nuns of* Cheſter, certain crofts from *Hugh Fitzoliver*, for them to build a church and convent on; which implies that there had been nuns in the city previous to his grant *. I find alſo, that *Edward* the black prince had been a benefactor; for there is mention of a charter of his to the nuns, granted in the 32d of his father's reign†. This was ſuppreſſed (with the other religious houſes) in 1537. At that time *Elizabeth Groſvenour* was prioreſs, who made a ſurrender of the houſe, and had a penſion for life of twenty pounds; and eleven of the ſiſters had alſo penſions, from 4 *l.* to 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* each. The ſite was granted, in the 33d of *Henry* VIII. to the *Urian Breretons*, ſenior and junior. The revenues were, according to *Dugdale*, 66 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* to *Speed* 99 *l.* 16 *s.* 2 *d.* I have a ground-plot of this nunnery; by which it appears to have been a compact but ſmall building. The church was twenty-two yards long and fifteen broad; and ſupported in the middle by a row of pillars. The chapel was nine yards by four three-quarters; the cloiſters thirty yards, by twenty-one. It ſtood in the nurſery-garden on the weſt-ſide of the city, ſtill called the *Nun's garden*; where veſtiges of the walls and arches are yet remaining.

Without

* Sciatis me dediſſe, et in perpetuam elemoſynam conceſſiſſe DEO et ſanctæ *Mariæ* et MONIALIBUS *Ceſtriæ*, &c. *Monaſticon*, i. 507.

† *Harleian* MSS. No 2057. 36.

Without the *North-gate* ſtood a hoſpital dedicated to St. *John the Baptiſt*, and formerly a ſanctuary, and endowed with great privileges. The maſterſhip was granted by *Edward* II. to the prior of *Berkinhead* and his ſucceſſors; but afterwards diſpoſed of by the crown to ſecular clergy. The houſe, at the diſſolution, conſiſted of a chaplain and ſix poor brethren, whoſe income, after repriſals, was 13 *l.* 7*s.* 10 *d.* *

Mention is made by biſhop *Tanner* † of the liberties of the hoſpital of St. *Giles* being confirmed by *Edward* III. I am told, that a fragment, ſuppoſed to be part of this charity, is to be ſeen in the *Foreſt ſtreet*.

The laſt antient hoſpital was inſtituted for lepers, in the ſuburbs of *Boughton*, about the beginning of *Edward* II.'s reign; I think, oppoſite to the place of execution: the burying-ground is ſtill made uſe of by the pariſh of St. *Oſwald*.

The number of pariſhes are nine. None of the churches are remarkable, excepting thoſe of St. *Peter*'s and *Trinity*; which are diſtinguiſhed by their handſome ſpires. The firſt was finiſhed in 1489; when the parſon and others ſignalized themſelves by eating part of a gooſe on it, and flinging the reſt into the four ſtreets ‡.

The number of inhabitants, including the ſuburbs of *Boughton* and *Hanbridge*, are eſtimated to be fourteen thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen. The houſes are almoſt entirely ſituated in a dry ſand-ſtone rock. Whether it be owing to that, the clearneſs of the air, and the purity of the water, it is certain that the proportion

* *Tanner*, 64. † 65. ‡ *King*, i. 76.

proportion of death among the inhabitants is only as one to thirty-one: whereas I am informed, by my worthy friend Doctor *Haygarth* of this city, that in *Leeds*, one in twenty-one; in *Northampton* and *Shrewsbury*, one in twenty-six; and in *London*, one in twenty and three-fourths, nually pay the great tribute of nature.

I do not recollect any thing remarkable on the outside of the walls which has been unnoticed, unless it be the *Rood-eye*, and the adjacent places. The *Dee*, after quitting the contracted pass at the bridge, flows beneath an incurvated clayey cliff; and washes on the right a fine and extensive meadow, long since protected against its ravages by a lofty dike. I imagine, that it lay open to the tides till about the year 1587, when the corporation (to whom it belongs) demised to one *Thomas Lyneal*, servant to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, this pasture for the term of twenty-one years, together with as much land as he could gain to it from the sea. He was also to make at his own costs a quay for boats and barks to unload at full sea, near the water-gate; for which he was at first to have two pence for every vessel passing by with any lading; but after that, the sum was encreased to four pence: and *Lyneal* was to pay an annual rent of 20*l.* to the city. At first he met with some obstructions: Sir *Francis* therefore interfered, in order that his servant might proceed without further interruption*.

The name of this spot is taken from *eye*, its watery situation, and *rood*, the cross which stood

* *Harleian* MSS. No 2082. 31. 34.

ſtood there, whoſe baſe is ſtill to be ſeen. On this place the luſty youth, in former days, exerciſed themſelves in manly ſports of the age; in archery, running, leaping, and wreſtling; in mock-fights, and gallant and romantic triumphs. From the hints dropt by *David King*, I imagine them to have been of the ſame nature with thoſe practiſed by the young men of the metropolis, deſcribed by *Fitz-Stephen*, a writer cotemporary with *Henry* II. 'The lay 'ſons of the citizens ruſh out of the gates in 'ſhoals, furniſhed with lances and ſhields; 'the younger ſort with javelins pointed, but 'diſarmed of their ſteel; they ape the feats of 'war, and act the ſham-fight. Part took the 'field well mounted. The generous courſers 'neigh and champ the bit. At length, when 'the courſe begins, and the youthful combatants are divided into claſſes or parties, one 'body retreats, and another purſues without 'being able to overtake them; while, in another quarter, the purſuers overtake the foe, 'unhorſe them, and paſs them many a length. 'The elders of the city and the fathers of the 'parties, and the rich and the wealthy, come 'into the field on horſeback to behold the exerciſes*.' One would imagine, by what follows, the antient hiſtorian was deſcribing the ſports of *Aſcanius* and his youthful train on the plains of *Sicily*:

Poſtquam omnem læti conſeſſum, oculoſque ſuorum
Luſtravere in equis, &c.

Now round the ring, before their fathers, ride
The boys, in all their military pride;

* Vide *Fitz-Stephen*'s Deſcr. *Lond* tranſlated by an Antiquary, 1772. 46, 7, 8.

Strait,

Till the loud lash resounding from afar
Gave the glad signal of the mimic war;
Strait, in three bands distinct, they break away,
Divide in order, and their ranks display:
Swift at the summons they return, and throw
At once their hostile lances at the foe:
Then take a new excursion on the plain;
Round within round, an endless course maintain;
And now advance, and now retreat again;
With well-dissembled rage their rivals dare,
And please the crowd with images of war.
Alternate now they turn their backs in flight,
Now dart their lances, and renew the fight;
Then in a moment from the combat cease,
Rejoin their scatter'd bands, and move in peace.
PITT.

A standard was the prize of emulation in the sports celebrated on the *Rood-eye**: but in the year 1609 the amusements took a new form; and under the reign of the peaceful *James*, the youthful cavaliers laid aside their mimic war, and began that species of horsemanship which the romantic philosopher, lord *Herbert*, thought unworthy of a man of honour; 'for,' says he, 'the exercise I do not approve, is the running 'of horses, there being much cheating in that 'kind.

The first prizes we hear of, after the suppression of the triumph, were a bell and bowl, to be run for on St. *George*'s day; which were provided in 1609 by Mr. *Robert Amery*, formerly sheriff of the city, and were brought down to the *Rood-eye* with great solemnity. This seems to have been the origin of the plate given by the city, and annually run for on the same day, to

* Which was won in 1578 by sheriff *Montford*, on *Shrove-Tuesday*.

to the preſent time. A bell was a common prize: a little golden bell was the reward of victory in 1607, at the races near *York*; whence came the proverb for ſucceſs of any kind, *to bear the bell.*

At one end of the *Rood-eye* ſtands the *Houſe of Induſtry*; a large and uſeful building, founded in 1757, by money raiſed by the city on life-annuities, for ſeveral improvements within its liberties. Here the poor are provided for in a fit manner, and to the great eaſe of the pariſhes; who are relieved from the burden of a numerous poor, who were too idle to work, and too proud to enter into this comfortable *Aſylum*. Thoſe of the pariſh of *Hawarden* are alſo ſent here, by virtue of an agreement made between the governors of this charity and the overſeers of the poor of that pariſh. The inmates contribute, by ſome coarſe linen manufactures, towards their ſupport. Poor-houſe.

A little beyond this building are the quays, cranes, ware-houſes, and other requiſites for carrying on the naval trade of this city. Theſe are oppoſite to the *Water-gate*, and have been much improved of late years; and the intervening ſpace has not long ſince been filled with a neat ſtreet. Ships of 350 tons burden *can* now reach the quays, where the ſpring-tides riſe at a medium fifteen feet: the neap-tides, eight. In the year 1674, this port was in ſo deplorable a ſtate, and ſo choaked with ſands, that a veſſel of twenty tons could not arrive here; but the ſhips were obliged to lie under *Neſton*, ten miles diſtant; which gave riſe to the aſſemblage of houſes called *Parkgate*, built on the ſhore beneath that town. A quay, called the *New quay*, (now in ruins) was erectednear this place in the begin Quays.

ning * of the laſt century, for the conveniency of loading and unloading the veſſels trading with *Cheſter*; and the goods were carried to and from the city by land. The misfortune of the port of *Cheſter* at length gave riſe to the proſperity of *Leverpool*, about this time a very inconſiderable place. It now began to diſcover its own advantages of ſituation; and quickly emerged from its deſpicable ſtate to its preſent flouriſhing condition.

New-Cut. In 1674, ſome friend to the former prevailed on Mr. *Andrew Yarranton*, a gentleman extremely converſant in the commercial advantages of this iſland, to make a ſurvey of the river *Dee* and its eſtuary. He drew a plan, formed the project of a new channel, a ſcheme for recovering from the ſea a large tract of land, and reſtoring the antient navigation even to the preſent quays: and this he got to be preſented to the duke of *York*, the patron, at that time, of all uſeful undertakings. He alſo ſuggeſted the idea of a canal from the collieries at *Aſton* near *Hawarden*; which was to drop into this new channel, and facilitate the carriage of coal up to the city †. Future times had the advantage of his inventive genius. Both plans were brought into execution without any great deviation from Mr. *Yarranton*'s project. His new cut was to end oppoſite to *Flint*; the preſent opens oppoſite to *Wepra*, on this ſide of *Flint*. Sir *John Glynne*'s little canal approaches the *Dee*, about two miles below the city, Mr.

* *Harleian* MSS. 2003, 39.

† Mr. *Andrew Yarranton's England's* Improvements by ſea and land, *&c.* 4to, *London*, 1677. His plan for that of the *Dee*, is at p. 192.

Mr. *Yarranton*'s coal canal was to fall into the *Dee* near to *Flint*.

An act of parliament was obtained for the recovering and preſerving the navigation of the river, for ſettling the duties on ſhips, and for the eſtabliſhing two ferries for the conveniency of travellers in the county of *Flint*. Other acts were paſſed in the years 1732, 1740, 43, 1752; and the works were begun with vigour. The project was carried on by ſubſcription; and the adventurers were to be rewarded by the lands they were empowered to gain on both ſides, 'from 'the *white ſands* or the ſea from *Cheſter*; 'and between the county of *Cheſhire*, on the 'north-ſide, and the county of *Flint* on the 'ſouth-ſide; being ſands, ſoil, and ground 'not bearing graſs.' Party conteſts at firſt filled the ſubſcriptions: zeal for the houſe of *Hanover* was at that time mixed, in this city, with zeal for its commercial intereſt; but in a litle time it was diſcovered to be the *madneſs of many, but the gain of few*. The expences proved enormous; multitudes were obliged to ſell out at above ninety *per cent.* loſs; and, their ſhares being bought by perſons of more wealth and foreſight, at length the plan was brought to a conſiderable degree of utility; and a fine canal formed, guarded by vaſt banks, in which the river is confined for the ſpace of ten miles; along which ſhips of three hundred and fifty tons burden may ſafely be brought up to the quays. Much land has been gained from the ſea; and good farms now appear in places not long ſince poſſeſſed by the unruly element.

I remember an almoſt uſeleſs tide flowing about the water-tower, the antient channel of the *Dee* flowing under *Blacon* point; and the

acceſs to the county of *Flint*, on this ſide, open only at the receſs of tides, and annually occaſioning the loſs of multitudes of lives. Two ferries are eſtabliſhed at fit places. The lower is the proper paſſage for travellers by *Holyhead* into the kingdom of *Ireland*; and calls aloud for the aid of a turnpike, to render it at all times pervious; or the road may be continued to *Saltney*, along the flat, ſo as to fall into the other turnpike on the marſh.

Trade. I ſhall now take a ſhort view of the trade of this city, as it ſtood in the years 1771 and 1776. I bring the laſt into ſight, in order to ſhew how far this port has been affected by the commotions of our *American* ſubjects; and oppoſe it to the commerce of 1771, when it appears to have been in its meridian, ſince the reſtoration of the channel. In that year were entered inwards

297 coaſting-veſſels; 19 of which were laden with groceries, and other goods from *London*.

526 coaſt ſhips outwards; of theſe 23 came from the port of *London*, and were laden here with lead, iron cannon, two thouſand tons of cheeſe, and other goods.

In the ſame year, 95 veſſels were entered inwards from foreign parts; and 216 entered inwards from *Ireland*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *America*.

From *Norway* and the *Baltic*, are imported timber, flax, tallow, hemp, iron, and deals.

From *Leghorn*, large quantities of kid and lamb ſkins; which are manufactured by the glovers, after being dreſſed here. This, in fact,

fact is the only manufacture which the city can boaſt of. I find, that in the reigns of queen *Elizabeth*, *James* I. and the beginning of that of *Charles* I. here was a vaſt trade in calves ſkins. In the firſt of thoſe monopolizing times, the queen grants one *Arthur Balſano* a licence to export 6000 dickers of leather of calves ſkins, ten dozens to every dicker, for ſeven years, paying five ſhillings *per* dicker. *James* I. granted to *James Maxwel* Eſq; a licence to export 18,000 dickers, for the ſame duty, and for twenty-one years; and this was afterwards confirmed to him by *Charles* I*. This *Maxwel* was one of the grooms of the bedchamber to his majeſty; and in the preceding reign, by a piece of inſolence to a gentleman of the inns of court, brought on him the reſentment of the *Engliſh*; and was obliged to atone for it by making due ſubmiſſion. The firſt grant might be made to him by *James*, to make amends for the mortifications he had undergone.

From *Spain* and *Portugal* are imported great quantities of cork, fruit, oil of olives, nuts, *Barilla* aſhes, and raiſins; and ſeveral hundred tons of wine from *Portugal*; which laſt form the greateſt foreign import of this city.

While the trade with *America* was open, fiſh and oil were brought from *Newfoundland*; and a ſmall trade was carried on with *Carolina*.

The exports this year were upwards of 6000 chaldrons of coal from the *Cheſhire* and *Flintſhire* collieries (which lie within this port); 1000 tons of lead; 300 of lead ore; 300 of oak bark;

* *Harleian* MSS. No. 2004. 4, 5, 16.

bark; all these to foreign parts. Besides 3470 tons of lead, and 431 of lead ore, sent coastways; that is, to the ports of *London* and *Leverpool, væ! nimium vicina!* for the purpose of re-exportation.

In 1776, 208 coasting-vessels were entered inwards, and 619 outwards.

166 ships entered inwards from foreign parts, including those trading between *Dublin* and *Parkgate*; and 131 outwards. The following table will shew the division of the commerce.

	Inwards.	Outwards.
America,	2	5
France,	-	11
Flanders,	-	1
Holland,	-	1
Ireland,	140	104
Isle of Man,	3	4
Portugal,	3	3
Spain,	4	-
Italy,	3	1
Norway, *Russia* and *Prussia*,	10	1

2877 chaldrons of coal, 1184 tons of lead, and 168 of lead ore, were sent abroad; but so exhausted are our oak-trees, that only 18 tons of bark were shipped. 2813 tons of lead, and 431 of lead ore, were sent coastways.

From the table of entries it appears, that the great trade of this city is with *Ireland*; which receives annually from hence (as a magazine) large quantities of hops, woollen cloths,

cloths, worſted ſtuffs, hoſiery, fuſtians, *Manchester* goods, cheeſe, wrought-iron, iron great guns, hardware, bound and unbound books, carpets, flint-glaſs, wrought ſilks, and great quantities of foreign goods ſent from *London* by land, and ſhipped from this port.

In return, it imports from *Ireland*, at the *Midſummer* and *Michaelmas* fairs, upwards of 1000 boxes and packs of linen-cloth, containing 25,000 pieces at leaſt: beſides 300 boxes or packs imported into *Leverpool*, and ſent acroſs the *Merſey* to *Ince*, from whence they are conveyed in carts to *Cheſter*. Theſe form all together a million of yards each fair. This trade began no longer ago than the year 1736, in which 449,654 yards were imported. The importations continually increaſed till the laſt year of the late war; from which period it has been on a par.

IRELAND alſo ſends conſiderable quantities of lamb-ſkins, wool, linen and bay yarn, tallow, hides, butter, feathers, and quills, ox bones and hoofs, glue, ſheep and cat guts; calve-velves, proviſions, and live cattle.

The number of ſhips belonging to this port ſhew the uncommercial genius of its inhabitants; there being only twenty-two in the foreign trade, containing in all 1449 tons, and 169 men: and 13 in the coaſt-trade, whoſe tonnage is 680 tons, and number of men 58: yet the port extends, on the *Cheſhire* ſide of the eſtuary, as far as the end of *Wiral*; and on the *Flintſhire*, to the *Vôr-ryd*, or the mouth of the *Clwyd*.

There was lately a very fair proſpect of adding much to the trade of the city, by an inland navigation, which was begun with great ſpirit Canal.

ſpirit a few years ago. It was to run through the county beneath *Beeſton* caſtle, and to terminate near *Middlewich*. Another branch was to extend to *Namptwich*. One mouth opens into the *Dee*, below the water-tower. A fine baſon is formed, into which the boats are to deſcend, by means of five ſucceſſive locks, beneath the northern walls of the city, cut in the live rock. A few miles of this deſign are completed: but, by an unhappy miſcalculation of expence, and by unforeſeen difficulties occurring in the execution, ſuch enormous charges were incurred, as to put a ſtop for the preſent to all proceedings. The other branch, which was *Middlewich*, was to end within a limited diſtance from the great canal between the *Trent* and *Merſey* navigation. The great objects were the ſalt and cheeſe trade; and coal for the ſupply of the interior parts of *Cheſhire*, from the vaſt collieries in *Staffordſhire*. Share alſo in the exportation of hard-ware, and all the manufactures of the internal part of the kingdom within its reach, might have been reaſonably expected.

The idea of a canal along the dead flat between *Cheſter* and *Ince* has been long ſince conceived, by perſons very converſant in the nature of the trade of this city. One mouth might have opened into the *Dee* in the place of the preſent; another near *Ince*, which would create a ready intercourſe with *Leverpool*, the *Weever*, and the ſalt-works and great dairies on that river; with *Warrington*, and with the flouriſhing town of *Manchеſter*, and a numerous ſet of places within reach of the *Merſey*, and of the canal belonging to that uſeful Peer, the duke of *Bridgewater*, to which the greateſt of our inland navigations is connected.

This

This little cut the city might, and ſtill may, enjoy unenvied, unrivalled; and, what is a material conſideration, the diſtance is trifling (ſeven miles*); the expences ſmall, and the profits to the undertakers great.

On leaving the city, I repaſſed *Hanbridge*; and at the maypole took the left-hand road, which is a continuation of the *Roman* road from the river. The ſtrait direction is the only proof of its antiquity, till it falls into the fields on the left, where its tract is often diſtinguiſhable by certain ridges or elevated ſpots. The farmer alſo, in digging, often falls on adventitious matters; ſuch as gravel, and remains of pavements. It points towards *Eccleſton*, near which are the reliques of a mount; the ſite, perhaps, of a ſmall caſtlet. It paſſes through *Eaton* park, and croſſes the *Dee* at *Oldford*.

The village of *Eccleſton* is prettily ſeated near the *Dee*, and commands a view of the towers and ſpires of *Cheſter* riſing above the wooded banks. The moſt extenſive proſpect is from a bench on *Eccleſton* hill, on the road-ſide; which takes in the vaſt environs of *Wales*, *Cheſhire*, and part of *Shropſhire*, forming an admirable compoſition of rich cultivation, bounded by hills of various forms. Eccleſton.

ECCLESTON retains the ſame name which it had at the Conqueſt. It was held at that time by *Gilbert de Venables*, from *Hugh Lupus*; before that event, by *Edwin* a freeman. On the demeſne land were two ſervants, four villeyns, and a boor, a boat and a net. Part of the place afterwards fell to the *Vernons* of *Kinderton*; and finally, by a late purchaſe, was added by the family

* According to *Burdet*'s map.

mily of the *Groſvenours* to their antient property in this pariſh. The church is a rectory dedicated to St. *Mary*.

Eaton.

A little farther is *Eaton*, or the hamlet on the water; a name the moſt common of any in *England*. At the Conqueſt, here was a fiſhery, which employed ſix fiſhermen, and yielded a thouſand ſalmon. This fiſhery has long ſince ceaſed; but during its exiſtence, the miniſter of *Eccleſton* claimed the twentieth fiſh. The ſeat of the antient family of the *Groſvenours* lies in this townſhip; a brick houſe, built about the latter end of the laſt century. The *Groſvenours* came in with the Conqueror, and took their name from the office they held in the *Norman* court, that of grand huntſman. Their firſt ſettlement in this county was, *Over Loſtock*, beſtowed by *Hugh Lupus* on his great nephew *Robert le Groſvenour*. In 1234, *Richard le Groſvenour* purchaſed and fixed his ſeat at *Hulme:* but in the reign of *Henry* VI. by the marriage of *Rawlin* or *Ralph Groſvenour* with *Joan* daughter of *John Eaton* of *Eaton*, Eſq; it was transferred to this place. While chivalry was the paſſion of the times, few families ſhone in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner: none ſhewed equal ſpirit in vindicating their right to their honours. Witneſs the famous cauſe between Sir *Robert le Groſvenour* with Sir *Richard le Scrope*, plaintiff, about a coat of arms, *azure one bend, or*; tried before the high conſtable and high marſhal of *England*, in the reign of *Richard* II. and laſted three years. Kings, princes of the blood, and moſt of the nobility, bore witneſs in this important affair. The ſentence was conciliating, that both parties ſhould bear the ſame arms; but the GROSVENOURS, *avec une bordure d'argent*. Sir *Robert* reſents

reſents it; appeals to the king. The judgment is confirmed: the choice is left to the defendant, either to uſe the *bordure*, or to bear the arms of their relations, the antient earls of *Cheſter*, *azure a gerb d'or*. He rejected the mortifying diſtinction, and choſe the *gerb*; which is the family coat to this day.

Croſs the *Dee* at *Eaton-boat*, leaving on the right *Oldford-bridge*; a neat ſtructure, forming another communication between the two parts of the hundred of *Broxton*; which, at the time of the Conqueſt, bore the name of *Dudeſtan* hundred. Oldford.

After riding along a dirty flat country, reach *Farn* or *Farndon*; a ſmall town on the *Dee*, called in Doomſday book *Ferendon*. The church was burnt by the parliament army in 1645, during the ſiege of *Holt* caſtle; and rebuilt after the ceſſation of the war. In one window, over the pew of the reſpectable family of *Barnſton*, is ſome very beautiful painted glaſs, of a commander in his tent, with a truncheon in his hand, ſurrounded with the military inſtruments in uſe during the reign of *Charles* I. Around theſe are ſixteen elegant figures of different ranks of ſoldiery, as low as the drummer, with their reſpective badges. Over the head of the officers are coats of arms: over that of the commander are thoſe of *Gamul*; and ſeem intended to preſerve the memory of Sir *Francis Gamul* baronet, the active mayor of *Cheſter* during the civil wars. Over the heads of three others are the arms of the *Groſvenours*, the *Mainwarings*, and the *Barndiſtons*; three loyaliſts, who ſerved in the ſame cauſe: *Roger Groſvenour*; Sir *William Mainwaring*, who was ſlain in defence of *Cheſter*; and *William Barndiſton* of *Chirton*, Eſq; who died in 1664. Farn.

This

This town is ſeparated from

DENBIGHSHIRE.

by an antient ſtone bridge of ten arches, with the veſtiges of a guard-houſe in the middle; the date, 1345, was preſerved, till very lately, on a ſtone over the arch called the *Lady's-arch*.

Holt. HOLT, another ſmall town, ſtands on an eminence on the *Welſh* ſide, an antient borough and corporation, conſiſting of a mayor, two bailiffs, and a coroner. The inhabitants, with thoſe of *Ruthin* and *Denbigh*, enjoy the privilege of contributing towards ſending a burgeſs to parliament. This town was incorporated by charter, granted by *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*, dated from his caſtle of *Lyons* 1410. The grant is very partial, running in this form,

Charter. *To the burgeſſes of our town, and to their heirs and ſucceſſors, being* ENGLISHMEN. This might ariſe from the hatred of the lord marchers to the *Welſh*, on account of the inſurrection of *Glyndwr*, at that time ſcarcely ſuppreſſed. This inſtilled into the inhabitants a ſpirit, retained, perhaps, to this moment; for within theſe few years they were the moſt iraſcible and pugnacious of all the neighbourhood. This town is in the pariſh of *Gresford*, but in the dioceſe of *Cheſter*. It is the only appertenance remaining on this ſide of the *Dee*, of the vaſt grant made by *Edward* the Confeſſor to that ſee, of all the land on the other ſide of the river; which he firſt gave and then took from our prince *Gryffydd ap Llewelyn* *. The church is a very handſome

* *Doomſday-Book* in *Leiceſter*, 405.

ſome building; yet no more than a chapel to the former. On the font are the arms of the *Warrens*; in a window, thoſe of the *Stanlies*, former owners of the place.

The poor reliques of the caſtle are ſeated cloſe to the river; and are inſulated by a vaſt foſs cut through a deep bed of ſoft red ſtone; which ſeems originally to have been thus quarried for the building of the caſtle. This fortreſs conſiſted of five baſtions, and the work cut into that form, to ſerve as a baſe to as many towers. An antient ſurvey I met with in the *Muſeum*, among the *Harleian* MSS. taken in 1620 by *John Norden*, when it was entire, will give a true idea of this curious ſtructure. It had been defended in three parts by the great chaſm formed by the quarry; on the fourth by the *Dee*, into which jutted a great quay, ſtill to be ſeen in very dry ſeaſons; for it has long ſince been covered by the encroachment of the river. Caſtle.

Originally this place had been a ſmall outpoſt to *Deva*. Slopes, and other now almoſt obſolete works, may be ſeen near the caſtle, and on the oppoſite ſide of the water: and coins have been found here, that put the matter out of doubt. I have ſeen ſome of *Antoninus*, *Galienus*, *Conſtantinus*, and *Conſtantius*. I conjecture that the *Roman* name had been *Caſtra Legionis*, and the *Welſh*, *Caſtell Lleon*, or the caſtle of the legion; becauſe it was garriſoned by a detachment of the legion ſtationed at *Cheſter*. The *Engliſh* borderers might eaſily miſtake *Lleon* for the plural of *Llew*, which ſignifies a lion, and ſo call it the *caſtle of Lions*; as we find it ſtyled when it came into poſſeſſion of earl *Warren* and his ſucceſſors.

This

Powy-ſland.

This country formed part of *Powyſland*; which, when entire, reached in a ſtraight line from *Broxton* hills in *Cheſter*, ſoutherly to *Pengwern Powys*, or *Shrewſbury*, including a large tract in both theſe counties; from thence through the eaſtern limits of *Montgomeryſhire*, comprehending all that county, part of *Radnorſhire* and *Brecknockſhire*; then turning northward, included the cwmmwds of *Mowddwy*, *Edeyrnion*, and *Glyndyfrdwy*, *Merionyddſhire*, and (circuiting part of *Denbiſhire*) comes along part of the *Clwydian* hills, to the ſummit of *Moel-famma*, including all *Denbighſhire*, excepting thoſe parts which at preſent conſtitute the lordſhips of *Denbigh* and *Ruthin*; from hence, taking a ſouth-eaſterly direction to *Broxton* hills, aſſerts its right to *Moleſdale*, *Hopedale*, and *Maelor* in *Flintſhire*. I have before taken notice, that *Offa*'s encroachment was but temporary, and of ſhort duration. I muſt farther obſerve, that in the articles of pacification * between *Henry* III. and our laſt prince *Llewelyn*, the limits of the principality experienced but a very ſmall diminution from what it was in *Offa*'s time, when it was agreed, that the *Dee* ſhould be the boundary from *Wirral* to *Caſtrum Leonum*, or *Holt*; and from thence a direct line to *Pengwern Powys*.

It was, perhaps, of much greater extent under the reign of *Brochwel Yſgythrog*, who was defeated by the *Saxons* at the battle of *Cheſter*. After this event, the borders became a ſcene of rapine; the *Welſh* and the *Mercians* alternately making the moſt terrible inroads into each other's

* *Powel*'s notes on *Girald.* Itin. *Cambr.* lib. ii. c. 11.

other's dominions *, till the time of *Offa*; who paſſing the *Severn* with a mighty force, expelled the *Britons* from their fruitful ſeats on the plains, and reduced the kingdom of *Powys*, to the weſtern ſide of the celebrated ditch ſtill known by his name. The princes of *Powys* were then conſtrained to quit their antient reſidence at *Pengwern*, or *Shrewſbury*, and remove it to one not leſs fertile, to *Mathraval*, in the beautiful vale of *Meivod*. From this period, their kingdom was called indifferently, that of *Powys*, or of *Mathraval*. The plains of *Shropſhire* became a confirmed part of the *Mercian* kingdom. The *trans-ſabrine* portion of *Glouceſterſhire* and *Worceſterſhire*, and the county of *Hereford*, ſubmitted to the yoke; but, after ſome time, the tract which forms the country above *Croes-oſwallt* or *Oſweſtry*, and the two *Maelors*, *Gymraeg* or the preſent *Bromfield*, and *Saeſneg* or the preſent *Flintſhire Maelor*, with many other *Cwmmwds*, relapſed to its natural maſters. Such was its ſtate till 843, the reign of RODERIC THE GREAT prince of all *Wales*; who, in his mother's right, poſſeſſed *North Wales*; in that of his wife, *South Wales*; and by that of his grand-mother *Neſt*, ſiſter and heireſs to *Congen ap Cadell* king of *Powys*, he added *Powyſland* to his dominions †. He, according to the deſtructive cuſtom of gavel-kind, divided his principality among his children; to *Anarawd* he gave NORTH WALES; to *Cadell*, SOUTH WALES; to *Mervyn* POWYSLAND. Each wore a *Talaith* or diadem of gold, beſet with precious ſtones; whence they were ſtyled *Y Tri Tywyſog Taleithiog*, or the three crowned princes.

After

* BEDE Hiſt. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 80. *Sax. Chr.* 25.
† *Powel*, 35.

After the death of *Mervyn*, *Cadell* uſurped the portion of his brother. His eldeſt ſon, *Howel Dda*, or the Good, in 940, again united all *Wales* into one government. He left four ſons, who divided *South Wales* and *Powys* between them; while *North Wales* was aſſumed, in 948, by *Jevaf* and *Jago*, ſons to his predeceſſor *Edwal Voel*. The confuſion that enſued on this occaſion, prevents me from ſaying any thing with certainty, till *Bleddyn ap Cynvyn*, who ruled *Wales* at the time of the Conqueſt, re-united the kingdoms of *North Wales* and *Powys*. The ſucceſſion to the principality paſſed away from his children; but *Powyſland* devolved to his ſons; which came at length entire to *Meredith*, the eldeſt born, after the contentions and ſlaughter uſual after ſuch partitions *.

MEREDITH made the diviſion which finally deſtroyed the power of this once potent kingdom. To his eldeſt ſon *Madoc*, he gave the part which bore afterwards the name of *Powys Vadog*: to *Gryffydd*, the portion which was called *Gwenwynwyn* †.

I leave to a future diſquiſition, the account of the remaining parts of *Powyſland*. I ſhall only trace the ſucceſſion of the firſt, which belongs more particularly to my ſubject. POWYS VADOG conſiſted, according to the diviſion of the times, of five *Cantrefs* or hundred townſhips; and theſe were ſubdivided into fifteen *Cwmmwds*.

CANTREF

* *Powel*, notes upon *Girald.* Itin. *Cambr.* lib. ii. c. 12.
† *Powel*, 211.

Cantref y Barwn,	*Dinmael* *,	*Denbighſhire.*
	Edeyrnion,	*Merionethſhire*,
	Glyndyfrdwy,	Ibid.
Cantref y Rhiw,	*Yale*, or *Jâl*,	*Denbighſhire.*
	Yſtrad Alun, or *Mold*,	*Flintſhire.*
	Hope,	Ibid.
Cantref Uwchnant,	*Merfordd*,	in *Flintſhire.*
	Maelor Gymraeg, or *Bromfield*,	*Denbighſhire.*
	Maelor Saeſneg,	*Flintſhire.*
Cantref Trefred,	*Croes-vaen*, and *Tref y Waun*, or *Chirk*,	in *Denbighſhire.*
	Croes-oſwallt, or *Oſweſtry*,	*Shropſhire.*
Cantref Rhaiadr,	*Mochnant-is-Rhaiadr*, *Kynllaeth*, &c.	*Denbighſhire.*
	Nan-heudwy,	
	Whittington,	*Shropſhire.*

Madoc married *Suſanna*, daughter of *Gryffydd ap Conan* prince of *North Wales*, by whom he had two ſons; *Gryffydd Maelor*, and *Owen ap Madoc*. To the firſt he gave the two *Maelors*, *Yale*, *Hopedale*, and *Nan-heudwy*, and *Mochnant is Rhaiadr*, &c. to *Owen*, the land of *Mechain Iſ-coed*: and, to his natural ſon *Owen Brogyntyn*, a young man of great merit, *Edeyrnion* and *Dinmael* †. *Gryffydd* married *Angharad*, the daughter of *Owen Gwynedd*, and had one ſon named *Madoc*, in whom the inheritance remained entire.

* *Llangwm Dinmael*, *Cerrig y Druidion*, &c.
† *Powel*, 211.

We now haſten to the end of the line. *Madoc* had only one ſon, *Gryffydd*, commonly called lord of *Dinas Brân*, becauſe he made that fortreſs his chief reſidence. He unfortunately became enamoured of *Emma*, an *Engliſh* lady, daughter of *James* lord *Audley*; who, alienating his affections from his country, made him one inſtrument of its ſubjection, and of the deſtruction of his own family. He took part with *Henry* III. and *Edward* I. againſt his natural prince. The reſentment of his countrymen was raiſed againſt him; and he was obliged to confine himſelf in the caſtle of *Dinas Brân*, where probably grief and ſhame put an end to his life. He left four children under age, *Madoc*, *Llewelyn*, *Gryffydd*, and *Owen*. EDWARD I. gave the guardianſhip of *Madoc*, the eldeſt (who was to have for his ſhare the lordſhip of *Bromfield* and *Yale*, the caſtle of *Dinas Brân*, and the reverſion of *Maelor Saeſneg*, after the death of his mother) to *John* earl *Warren*; and of *Llewelyn* (who was to poſſeſs the lordſhips of *Chirk* and *Nan-heudwy*) to *Roger Mortimer*, ſon of lord *Mortimer*, of *Wigmore*. Theſe lords ſoon conſpired to free themſelves from their charge, and poſſeſs themſelves of their eſtates: and accordingly cauſed the poor children to be drowned under *Holt-Bridge*. This I diſcovered in a manuſcript, communicated to me by the Reverend Mr. PRICE, keeper of the *Bodleian* library. Before that, the manner of their deaths was current in the country, under the fable of the two young fairies, who had been deſtroyed in that manner, and in the ſame place; but the foundation of the tale was, till very lately, totally loſt.

Having now brought the ſucceſſion to the required period, I ſhall only ſay, that *Gryffydd*, the

the third ſon, was ſuffered to enjoy his portion of *Clyndyfrdwy*; from whom ſprung OWEN, the great revenger of the wrongs of his family; and the fourth ſon, *Owen*, received for his ſhare, *Cynilaeth*. This afterwards devolved to *Gryffydd*, father of *Glyndwr*.

The barbarity of the two guardians, ſo far from being puniſhed by their maſter, was rewarded. *Warren* had the grant of *Dinas Brân*, and all *Bromfield* confirmed to him, dated from *Rhudland*, *October* 7th, 1281 *; *Mortimer* that of *Chirk*. The former began immediately to ſecure his ill-gotten poſſeſſions by building *Holt Caſtle*; but dying, left the finiſhing of it to his ſon *William*. Before this grant, a family of the name of *Holt*, held this place; I ſuppoſe under its lord paramount. Theſe eſtates continued in the family till 1347, when, on the death of *John* earl *Warren*, they devolved to *Edward Fitzalan* earl of *Arundel*, in right of his wife *Alice*, ſiſter to the former. *Warren* had been divorced from his wife *Joan de Baars*, and had obtained from *Edward* II. a grant of his *Welſh* eſtates, and others in *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, in favour of *John* and *Thomas*, ſons of his by *Maud de Nereford*, to whom he had been contracted before his marriage with *Joan*. Theſe children, probably, died without iſſue; the eſtates reverting, as he had in ſuch a caſe provided, to his own right heirs †.

They continued with the *Fitzalans* during three generations. *Richard* II. probably ſeized on them after the execution of *Richard* earl of *Arundel*; for we find that unhappy prince had lodged in *Holt Caſtle*, during his *Iriſh* expedi-

* AYLOFF's Rotuli *Walliæ*, 81.
† *Dugdale Baron.* i. 82.

tion, jewels to the value of two hundred thouſand marks in coin *; which, with the fortreſs, were delivered to *Bolingbroke*, previous to the diſpoſal of *Richard*. *Thomas*, the ſon of *Richard*, was reſtored in blood the following reign. He died in 1416, without iſſue; and his unſettled eſtates fell to his ſiſters, *Elizabeth*, who had married *Thomas Mowbray* duke of *Norfolk*, but then wife to Sir *Gerard Uſefleet*; and *Joan*, who had married *William Beauchamp* lord of *Abergavenny*. This occaſioned a further diviſion of theſe eſtates. *Joan*'s ſhare fell again, by a daughter, to *Nevil* lord *Abergavenny*; after which, I loſe ſight of the ſucceſſion till the reign of *Henry* VII. when that prince made a grant of them to Sir *William Stanley*. On his execution, *Henry* not only reſumed the lordſhip, but ſeized on his vaſt effects; and found in *Holt Caſtle*, in money and plate, forty thouſand marks, beſides jewels, houſehold goods, and cattle on his ground †.

HENRY VIII. beſtowed this lordſhip on his natural ſon *Henry Fitzroy* duke of *Richmond*; and had poſſeſſion given him at its capital of *Holt*, in 1534, by the duke of *Norfolk* and others ‡. He enjoyed his honour but a ſhort time, dying at the age of ſeventeen, in the year 1536.

In the following reign, I find it in poſſeſſion of *Thomas Seymour* lord admiral, and turbulent brother to the protector *Somerſet*. He made the fortreſs at *Holt* ſubſervient to his ambitious deſigns; and formed there a great magazine of warlike ſtores §. His deſerved but illegal execution again flung *Bromfield* into poſſeſſion of the crown.

The

* *Holinſhed.* † *Leiceſter*, 371.
‡ *King*, *ii.* 195. § *Dugdale Baron.* ii. 368.

The great earl of *Leiceſter* was in poſſeſſion of *Chirk*; and, probably, of the whole lordſhip of *Bromfield*.

In 1643, *Holt Caſtle* was in the hands of the crown; but in that year was ſeized for the uſe of the parliament, by Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *Thomas Middleton* *. The royaliſts recovered the poſſeſſion. In *February* 1645-6, it was cloſely beſieged by major-general *Mytton* †, and vigorouſly defended by the governor, Sir *Richard Lloyd* of *Eccluſham* near *Wrexham*, till the beginning of *April*, when it was ſurrendered on articles; the governor having permiſſion to go beyond ſea, with three hundred pounds; and his lady, to enjoy his lands, being three hundred pounds a year ‡. Immediately after the parliament got poſſeſſion, it was ordered to be demoliſhed.

The lordſhip is at preſent in the crown, under the direction of the ſteward of *Bromfield*, and *Yale*; an office in his majeſty's diſpoſal: but a grant of the minerals (the far more valuable part) was made to the *Groſvenour* family in the reign of *Charles* I, ſubject to the annual payment of twenty ſhillings. An attempt was made by king *William* to alienate theſe important domains in favour of the earl of *Portland*, and his heirs for ever: but on a vigorous repreſentation of the illegality, but particularly on the noble ſpeech ‖ of *Robert Price*, Eſq; afterwards baron of the exchequer, his majeſty thought fit to withdraw the grant already made out in the treaſury. The whole rents at that time reſulting to the crown, amounted only to a thouſand a year, beſides miſes, reliefs, and other

* *Whitelock*, 77. Idem, 192. 201.
† *Drake* Parliam. Hiſt. xiv. 356. ‡ *Whitelock*, 231.
‖ *Britiſh* Biogr. vii. app. 141.

other contingent profits. The *miſe* was, in *Wales*, a cuſtomary preſent made to the prince on his acceſſion, in old times, in cattle; but after its conqueſt, changed into money. It amounted to about five thouſand pounds. It was paid thrice in the time of *James* I. firſt, at his coming to the crown; ſecondly, on the creation of his ſon *Henry* prince of *Wales*; thirdly, on the creation of *Charles*.

On leaving *Holt*, I returned over the bridge; and paſſing along a portion of

CHESHIRE,

in a flat country, with a pleaſing view of the *Broxton* hills on the left, I reached the ſite of *Shocklach* caſtle. This, with great part of the antient hundred of *Dudeſtan*, was held after the Conqueſt by *Robert Fitzhugh*, from *Hugh Lupus*. It belonged to the barony of *Malpas*; but on the diviſion of it, one part came to *John de Sutton* baron of *Dudley*, the other to *Urien de Sancto Petro*. What is remarkable, it was held of queen *Elizabeth*, as of her manor of *Eaſt Greenwich*. Nothing, excepting a foſs, marks the place of this fortreſs. On the oppoſite ſide of the road is a vaſt mount,, probably of far greater antiquity than the caſtle; and exploratory, commanding a great view around. By the name of *Stretton*, a neighbouring place, I conjecture that a *Roman* road went this way; but my time did not permit me to ſearch after it.

At a ſmall diſtance from *Shocklach* caſtle, I entered *Maelor Saeſneg*, a hundred of

FLINTSHIRE,

diſjoined from the reſt of the county. At the time of the making of the Doomſday book, the lands about *Worthenbury*, *Overton*, and *Bettesfield*

tisfield or the preſent pariſh of *Hanmer*, belonged to the hundred of *Dudeſtan*. But long before the forming of the new hundreds, which, according to Sir *Peter Leiceſter*, did not happen much later than the reign of *Edward* III. it is certain theſe places reverted to the deſcendants of the princes of *Powis*. It ſeems as if it acquired the name of *Saeſneg*, from its having been the jointure of *Emma*, widow of *Gryffydd ap Madoc*, who was an *Engliſhwoman*. It conſiſts of theſe pariſhes; *Worthenbury*, *Bangor*, *Hanmer*, and the chapelry of *Overton*, on this ſide of the *Dee*; of *Erbiſtock* on the other ſide, oppoſite to *Overton*; and of *Hope* in the other portion of the county of *Flint* *. Part only of *Erbiſtock* is in *Flintſhire*; the reſt in *Denbighſhire*. Beſides theſe pariſhes, are ſeveral ſpots that belong to this hundred, inſulated by the laſt county, which form nearly a connection between this and the other part of the hundred. The chain is ſuppoſed to have been once entire; but as many of the links were often fields, which (by reaſon of their ſmallneſs) were neglected, and loſt. One of the townſhips of *Dutton*, in *Holt* pariſh, is known to have belonged to this hundred; as that of *Abenbury Vechan*, in that of *Wrexham*, does at preſent. *Oſley* and *Mereford*, the laſt in the pariſh of *Gresford*, were, by the 33d of *Henry* VIII. added to *Flintſhire*, and aſſiſt to continue the chain towards *Hope*, the diſtant portion of this hundred. Theſe were but recently made parts of *Flintſhire*, in compariſon of the reſt of *Maelor Saeſneg*; which was declared to conſtitute part of the county by *Edward* I. in the *Statutum Walliæ*.

The

* Parts in other pariſhes are, *Iſ-coed* in *Malpas*, *Penley* in *Elleſmere*, and *Bodidris* in *Llanarmon*.

The lordſhip or ſuperiority of the hundred was granted (I believe) by *Henry* IV. to Sir *John Stanley* knight, and continued in his family till the 41ſt of *Elizabeth*: when *William* earl of *Derby* deviſed it to Sir *Randle Brereton*; and it has ſince devolved to Sir *Walden Hanmer* baronet, and *Philip Lloyd Fletcher* eſquire.

This part of *Flintſhire* is under the ſame government as the reſt; excepting the obligation of attending the county courts, which is diſpenſed with by reaſon of its diſtance from the towns where they are held. It has alſo a coroner of its own; but eligible by the county at large.

The limit between this part of the hundred and *Cheſhire* is *Flannen Brook:* about a mile beyond is the village and church of *Worthenbury*; the laſt, a new and neat brick building, dedicated to St. *Deiniol*; a rectory taken out of *Bangor*, and made a ſeparate pariſh by an act of the ſecond of *William* and *Mary*; in the preſentation of the family of *Emral*. The name in the Doomſday book is *Hurdingberie*; before the Conqueſt held by earl *Edwin*.

Broughton. I took my quarters at *Broughton*; a venerable wooden houſe, in poſſeſſion of my reſpected kinſman *Peter Davies* Eſq; in right of his lady, eldeſt ſiſter to the late *Broughton Whitehall* Eſq. The *Whitehalls* were originally of *Staffordſhire*; but ſettled here in 1663, by virtue of a marriage between *Rowland Whitehall* and *Elizabeth* daughter of *John Broughton*. The *Broughtons* derived themſelves from the great *Welſh* ſtock *Tudor Trevor*, earl of *Hereford*, and aſſumed their name from this place, in the reign of *Henry* VII.

At

At the back of this houſe lies the noted common of *Threap-wood*, from time immemorial a place of refuge for the frail fair, who make here a tranſient abode, clandeſtinely to be freed from the conſequences of illicit love. Numbers of houſes are ſcattered over the common for their reception. This tract, till of late years, had the ill-fortune to be extra-parochial: at firſt, either becauſe it was in the hands of irreligious or careleſs owners, or was ſituated in foreſt or deſert places *, it never was united to any pariſh. The inhabitants, therefore, conſidered themſelves as beyond the reach of law, reſiſted all government, and even oppoſed the exciſe laws, till they were forced to ſubmit; but not without bloodſhed on the occaſion. The very name of the place ſpeaks the manners of the dwellers. *Threap-wood*, derived from the *Anglo-Saxon Threapian*, to *threap* (a word ſtill in uſe); ſignifying to perſiſt in a fact or argument, be it right or wrong. It is ſeated between the pariſhes of *Malpas*, *Hanmer*, and *Worthenbury*; but belonged to none, till it was, by the late militia-acts, decreed to be in the laſt. Still doubts ariſe about execution of ſeveral laws within this precinct. It is to be hoped, that legiſlature will take an opportunity of rendering the magiſterial power as valid here as in other places; eſpecially when it is to be conſidered, that there are to the amount of two hundred and ſixty-ſeven inhabitants, who want inſtruction in the doctrine of univerſal ſubmiſſion to law. Threap-wood.

From *Broughton* I made an excurſion to *Hanmer*, diſtant about five or ſix miles: paſſed over part of *Threap-wood*; and obſerved in the incloſures ſome venerable oaks, the remains of the Hanmer.

* BLACKSTONE, 4to, ii 113.

the ancient foreſt. Croſs *Sarn-bridge*, over the *Wich-brook*, which riſes about two miles above, in part of the pariſh of *Malpas*, but in the county of *Flint*, near the *Wiches*; where are brine-ſprings and ſalt-works. Reach a houſe called *Willington-croſs*. The country, which hitherto had been uncommonly wet and dirty, now changes to a ſandy ſoil; and becomes broken into ſmall riſings. The part about the little town of *Hanmer* is extremely beautiful; varied with a lake of fifty acres, bounded on all ſides with ſmall cultivated eminences, embelliſhed with woods. The town, church, and the chief ſeat of the family of the *Hanmers*, a modern brick houſe, adorn one part; and on the oppoſite ſide of the water, on the ſite of the old houſe of *Greddington*, another ſeat is projected by that eminent lawyer *Lloyd Kenyon* eſquire.

Church. The church is a very handſome embattled building, of the reign of *Henry* VII. in whoſe time numbers of churches were re-built after the long deſolation of civil war. The roof is of wood: that of the *Fenns* chapel, and of the north-aile, are divided in ſmall ſquares, and carved in a moſt elegant ſtyle. In the windows of the former was ſome painted glaſs, with dates, expreſſing the time of its being made, at the coſt of the *Hanmers*; who had the preſentation of the vicarage granted to them by the abby of *Haghmon*, near *Shrewſbury*, in 1424.

In the *Hanmer* chapel are two mural monuments, in memory of two moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages: the firſt in elegant Latin, to Sir *Thomas Hanmer* baronet, knight of the ſhire for the county of *Flint*, and ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in the latter part of the reign

of

of queen *Anne*. The other commemorates the late Sir *Thomas Hanmer**, editor of the magnificent edition of *Shakeſpear*.

About two miles farther is *Bettisfield*; an old brick houſe belonging to the ſame family. I obſerved here a head of the late Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, by *Kneller*, in a long wig and cravat; an elegant figure of a lady *Hanmer*, with a forehead-cloth, in an elegant white undreſs, ſtudying *Gerard*'s herbal; and a ſmall portrait of a lady *Warner*, *a la magdalene*, with long diſheveled hair, and a ſcull in her hand. She was a daughter of the houſe, and wife to a Sir *John Warner*; who, not content with quitting the religion of their parents, determined to quit the kingdom, and embrace the monaſtic life. Their friends applied to the king (*Charles* II.) to divert them from their reſolution. His majeſty, with his wicked wit, told them, that if Sir *John had a mind to make himſelf one of God Almighty's fools, they muſt have patience*. Sir *John* became a Jeſuit, and aſſumed the name of brother *Clare*; ſhe a poor *Clare*, of which order ſhe performed the noviciateſhip with marvellous obedience! *I am black but comely*, was the text of a preacher, one day exhorting her (in what is called a cloathing ſermon) to humility; expreſſing, that ſhe muſt make herſelf black (alluding to the habit) in the eyes of the world, to become more fair in the ſight of the LORD. The abbeſs on this ſaid to the poor novice, *You alſo*, ſiſter CLARE, *muſt black yourſelf*. On which ſhe went inſtantly into the kitchen, were ſhe blacked her face and hands with the ſoot of the chimney; and thus became an inſtructive example to the admiring ſiſters†!

Bettisfield.

Lady Warner.

BETTISFIELD

* He died *May* 7th 1746.

† Vide life of Lady *Warner*, p. 108. *London* 1696.

BETTISFIELD had for centuries belonged to the *Hanmers*. Before the battle of *Shrewſbury*, a diviſion of their eſtates was made. *Jenkin Hanmer*, the brother-in-law to the great *Glyndwr*, divided his eſtates among his four ſons. He gave *Hanmer*, and his lands at *Llwyn Derw* or *Oakenholt*, obtained with his firſt wife *Margaret*, daughter of *Davydd ap Bleddyn Vychan*, to their ſon *Gryffydd*. By his ſecond marriage, with *Eva* daughter to *Davydd ap Grono ap Jerwerth* of *Llai*, he had *John*, *Edward*, and *Richard*. To *John* he gave *Halghton* (a houſe in this neighbourhood) and *Llai*; to *Edward*, lands in *Fenns*, a place likewiſe not remote; and to *Richard*, lands in *Bettisfield*. *Jenkin* ſoon after fell, valiantly fighting, in the field near *Shrewſbury*, againſt the uſurper *Bolingbroke*. *John* departed from the principles of his father, and embraced the ſide of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, in the reign of *Henry* VI. *John Mowbray* duke of *Norfolk*, and *Grey* lord *Powis*, carried fire and ſword through his eſtates in 1463, and burnt his houſe at *Halghton*; which induced him, the year following, to make his ſubmiſſion to the victorious *Edward* *.

All theſe eſtates, excepting *Halghton*, are now united, and in poſſeſſion of Sir *Walden Hanmer* baronet.

Emral. On leaving *Broughton*, I took the road towards *Bangor*. On the right lies *Emral Hall*, the ſeat of the *Puleſtons*; a family ſettled here in the time of *Edward* I. but took their name from *Puleſdon*, a townſhip in *Shropſhire*. The firſt who poſſeſſed the place was *Roger*, a favourite officer of the king; who, after the conqueſt of *Wales*, appointed him collector of the taxes raiſed

* *Saluſbury* Pedigree.

raiſed towards the ſupport of the war againſt *France*, but the *Welſh*, unuſed to theſe levies, ſeized on *de Puleſdon* and hanged him *. His ſon *Richard* was appointed, by the ſame prince, ſheriff of *Caernarvon*, with a ſalary of forty pounds, and all arrears †. His ſon, another *Richard*, held, in the 7th of *Edward* II. lands in the pariſh of *Worthenbury*, by certain ſervices, *& per ammabrogium*, or a pecuniary acknowledgment paid by tenants to the king, or vaſſals to their lord, for the liberty of marrying, or not marrying. Thus *Gilbert de Maiſnil* gave ten marks of ſilver to *Henry* III. for leave to take a wife; and *Cecily*, widow of *Hugh Pevere*, that ſhe might marry whom ſhe pleaſed ‡. It is ſtrange that this ſervile cuſtom ſhould be retained ſo long. It is pretended, that the *Amobyr* among the *Welſh*, the *Lyre-wite* among the *Saxons*, and the *Marcheta mulierum* among the *Scots*, were fines paid by the vaſſal to the ſuperior, to buy off his right to the firſt night's lodging with the bride of the perſon who held from him: but I believe there never was any *European* nation (in the periods this cuſtom was pretended to exiſt) ſo barbarous as to admit it. It is true, that the power above cited was introduced into *England* by the *Normans*, out of their own country. The *Amobyr*, or rather *Gobr merch*, was a *Britiſh* cuſtom of great antiquity, paid either for violating the chaſtity of a virgin; or for a marriage of a vaſſal §, and ſignifies *the price of a virgin*. The *Welſh* laws, ſo far from encouraging adultery, checked, by ſevere fines, even unbecoming liberties ‖. The *Amobr* was intended as a preſervative

Amobyr.

* *Powel*, 380. † AYLOFFE's *Rot. Walliæ*, 101.
‡ *Madox*. Antiq. Excheq. i. 465. 6. § *Leges Wallicæ*, 92, & Gloſſar. 554. ‖ *Leges Wallicæ*, 78.

ſervative againſt lewdneſs. If a virgin was deflowered, the ſeducer, or, in his ſtead, her father, paid the fine. If ſhe married, he alſo paid the fine. There is one ſpecies ſo ſingular as to merit mention: if a wife proved unfaithful to her huſband's bed, the poor cuckold was obliged to pay his ſuperior five ſhillings as long as he did *cydgyſgu*, *i. e.* ſleep with her; but if he forbore cohabiting with her, and ſhe *cydgyſgu'd* with her gallant, the fine fell on the offending fair.

Lyre-wyte. The *Saxons* had their *Lyre-wyte*, or *Lecher-wyte*, for the ſame end that the *Welſh* had their *Amobyr*. The crime is mentioned often in the *Saxon* laws *: once, with a cruel penalty denounced againſt the offender; and a ſecond time, with a ſtrong dehortation from the commiſſion. In general, the crime was expiated by money, according to the degree of the perſon injured. The *Indians* at this time commute, in certain degrees of offence; but oftener puniſh it with burning, and other excruciating deaths †.

Bangor. Continue my journey to *Bangor*, ſeated on the banks of the *Dee*; which is here bounded on both ſides by rich meadows. The church has been built at different times; but no part very antient. It is a rectory, dedicated to St. *Dinoth* abbot of *Bancornaburg* or *Bangor*, in the days of St. *Auguſtine*. It is in the gift of *Philip Lloyd Fletcher* Eſq. This place is celebrated for being the ſite of the moſt ancient *Britiſh* monaſtery, or rather ſeminary, which contained two thouſand four hundred monks; who, dividing themſelves into ſeven bands, paſſed their time alternately in prayer and labour *;

or,

* *Leges Saxon.* 40. 132. † *Gentoo Laws*, 268, &c.

or, as another writer † ſays, a hundred (by turns) paſſed one hour in devotion; ſo that the whole twenty-four hours were employed in ſacred duties. This pious community was diſperſed, after the ſlaughter of their brethren at the battle of *Cheſter*, and their houſe overthrown. *William* the monk, and librarian of *Malmſbury*, cotemporary with king *Stephen*, ſpeaks of the remains in his days; ſaying that no place could ſhew greater remains of half-demoliſhed churches, and multitudes of other ruins that were to be ſeen in his time ‡. Mention is made of two gates of the precincts, that were a mile diſtant, with the *Dee* running between them; one was called *Porth Clais*, the other *Porth Wgan*. The name of the firſt is retained in that of a place called *Clai*; of the other in a houſe called *Hogan*. The precincts muſt have been large, as the monks maintained themſelves by the labour of their own hands. The ſimple and unlearned provided meat and cloathing for the learned, and diſtributed to the poor all ſuperfluities. It ſent forth many thouſands of religious; and its fame would have been immaculate, had it not produced the celebrated *Pelagius*, about the year 400, the ſame who is uſually ſtigmatized by the name of the arch-heretic. Two of his tenets, perhaps, in theſe days, may give him many proſelytes: 'That good works 'were meritorious; and that unbaptized in-'fants ran no hazard of damnation.'

The

* Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 80.
† *Cambden*, i. 663. ‡ Script poſt. Bedam, 294.

The monks of this community, in common with all the *Britiſh* clergy, were ſtrenuous oppoſers of the uſurpation of the church of *Rome*. Seven biſhops, and a great number of learned men, were deputed from *Bangor* to meet the famous miſſionary *Auguſtine* the monk; when he inſiſted on their concurrence with his demands, with ſuch inſolence, that they left him, determined to maintain the original rites of their own church; which remained pure, and independent of all foreign prelates, for many centuries after that period. *Auguſtine* threatened the *Britons* with the reſentment of the *Saxons*. How far he inſtigated *Edilfred* in his invaſion does not appear; but, if BEDE may be depended on, the maſſacres of the monks almoſt immediately followed his menaces *.

I could diſcover no remains of this once noted place; but was informed, that ſquared ſtones have been often ploughed up in a field called the *Stanyards*; probably the ſite of ſome of the antient buildings.

This place had been alſo the ſite of the ſuppoſed *Bonium* or *Bovium*, a *Roman* ſtation. *Leland* ſays, that in his time *Roman* money was found there. I could find neither coins or inſcriptions, or any thing of higher antiquity than four ſtone coffin-lids, engraven in the annexed plate, and an ancient croſs; all dug up in the church-yard. N° 1. has on it the arms of the earls *Warren*: 2. the ſame, quartered with arms unknown to me: 3. is inſcribed *Hic jacet* ITHEL CADWGAN: the

* BEDÆ Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 80.

the 4th, inſcribed *Hic jacet* WILLIAM LE FRENS; probably a perſon of *Norman* extraction. I find the name in Sir *Peter Leiceſter*'s *Cheſhire* *: one *Hugh de Frenes*, who married *Alice*, daughter of *Lacy* earl of *Lincoln*, and widow of *Thomas* earl of *Lancaſter*, beheaded 1321. The croſs is far the more antient. The ingenious herald, Mr. *Wilkinſon*, imagines, that the gryphon and the lion (which are both antient *Britiſh* arms) looking towards the croſs, may ſignify the early embracing of Chriſtianity by the nations of our iſland.

The antient *Britiſh* boats, the *vitilia navigia* of *Pliny*; the modern coracles; are much in uſe in theſe parts for the purpoſes of ſalmon-fiſhing. They have now loſt the cauſe of their name, being no longer covered with *coria* or hides, but with ſtrong pitched canvas. They hold a ſingle perſon, who uſes a paddle with great dexterity †. The *Britons* had them of large ſize, and even made ſhort voyages in them, according to the accounts we receive from *Lucan*.

The bridge is a beautiful light ſtructure, and conſiſts of five arches. A learned ſchool-maſter, in the following inſcription, has commemorated the time of its reparation.

MVND. 5607. DENB. CC. CONCIT.
REPARAT. AN. CHRIST. 1658. SVMP. E. COMIT. LIB. M. A.
HEGYR. 1036. FLINT. C.

* 275.

† Water-races are often performed here in theſe ſlight veſſels. On *Michaelmas*-day next, a *regatta* of great magnificence is to be exhibited by them above *Bangor Bridge*.

Eyton. On croſſing the *Dee*, entered into *Denbighſhire* again; and, turning ſhort to the left, after two miles riding, viſited *Eyton*, the ſeat of *Kenrick Eyton* Eſq. This houſe was head of a numerous race of gentry, that took their name from the place, ſo called from its ſituation. The *Dee* rolls beneath, and forms a long and ſolemn reach, overſhadowed by hanging woods. At *Overton* bridge, which lies about a mile beyond *Eyton*, the channel is contracted, and the ſtream flows picturesquely between lofty banks, admirably deſcribed by the inimitable pencil of Mr. SANDBY. This bridge conſiſts of two neat arches, and was firſt built of ſtone by the munificence of *Gwenhwyvar*, daughter of *Jerwerth Ddu* of *Pengwern*, near *Llangollen*; a maiden lady who reſided at *Eyton* with her ſiſter *Margaret*, who was married to *Madoc ap Evan Eyton* *.

Overton. OVERTON, or *Overton Madoc*, the *Ovreton* of the Doomſday book, is a pleaſant village, ſeated on a high bank, about a mile beyond the bridge, above a rich meadowy flat of a ſemicircular form, varied by the *Dee*, and bounded in front with fertile and wooden ſlopes; while the lofty and naked mountains ſoar beyond, and cloſe the ſcene.

This place was called, at the time of the Conqueſt, *Ovretone*; had then a *Saxon* owner; but was granted to *Robert Fitzhugh*. I find in 1278, or the 7th of *Edward* I. that it was in poſſeſſion of *Robert de Crevecœur*, who obtained for it a weekly market on a *Wedneſday* †. In the 21ſt of the ſame reign, the king directed *Reginald de Grey*, juſtice of *Cheſter*, to go perſonally

* *Eyton Pedigree.* † *Dugdale Baron.* i. 592.

ſonally to *Overton*, and there to aſſign to the burgeſſes, or ſuch as would become inhabitants, competent land, within the demeſnes of *Overton* caſtle and wood, to build them burgages with *. Such encouragement did this wiſe prince give to population, to ſecure the frontiers of his new conqueſt. In 1331, or the 5th of *Edward* III. it was granted, with other lands in this *Maelor*, to *Eubule le Strange*, baron of *Knockyn* †.

There are no reliques of the caſtle; which ſtood in a field ſtill called *Caſtlefield*, fronting the *Dee*. Tradition ſays, that it had been the reſidence of *Madoc ap Meredydd* prince of *Powys* and lord of *Overton*; from which the place received the adition of *Madoc*.

The church is a handſome building; and the church-yard reckoned among the wonders of *Wales*, on account of its handſome yew-trees. The place is only a curacy, in the pariſh of *Bangor*, in the dioceſe of *Cheſter*.

OVERTON is one of the contributory boroughs which ſend a member for that of *Flint*; which is done by the inhabitants of *Overton-foreign* and *Knolton*, paying ſcot and lot. This right had been ſettled in the years 1728 and 1737; but a doubt ariſing, whether payment of taxes by the landlord was ſufficient, in 1741, it was determined by parliament in the negative. *Hanmer*, and ſeveral other places, laid in a claim to vote; but it was rejected by the commons in the beginning of this century.

* *Harleian* MSS. No 2074. 45.
† *Dugdale Baron.* i. 668.

Gwern-hailed.

GWERNHAILED, the ſeat of Mr. *Fletcher*, in this pariſh, muſt not paſs unnoticed. Few places command ſo rich a view; and few have been more judiciouſly improved. It ſtands on the lofty brow that ſkirts the country. Beneath runs the *Dee*; bounded on the oppoſite ſide by the moſt beautiful meadows, and varied in the diſtance with numbers of hills; among which thoſe of *Caer-gwrle* form a moſt noble and conſpicuous maſs.

Bryn y Pys.

In this neighbourhood I viſited the fine collection of birds at *Bryn y Pys*, the ſeat of *Richard Parry Price* Eſq. Among others, were a

New vulture.

pair of vultures; which I take the liberty of mentioning in this place, as being an undeſcribed ſpecies. They were the ſmalleſt of the genus, not above half as big again as the kite. Their bill whitiſh, long, and but little hooked; cere bluiſh; orbits naked and fleſh-coloured; irides ſtraw-coloured: head and neck, contrary to the character of the genus, cloathed with feathers; craw pendulous; head, neck, back, breaſt, belly, and leſſer coverts of the wings, of a pure white; greater coverts, and primaries, black, the laſt tipt with white; the lower part of the tail black; the end white; legs dirty white, roughened with ſcales.

INHABIT *Angola*. Were very reſtleſs and querulous; and much more active than is uſual with this ſluggiſh race. They are now dead; but their *exuviæ*, ſtuffed ſo as to mimic life, are placed in the matchleſs *Muſeum* of ASHTON LEVER, Eſq; which is far the moſt inſtructive and elegant of any in *Europe*; and from which the mere admirer will receive equal pleaſure with the profoundeſt *connoiſſeur*.

I muſt

I muſt not leave this neighbourhood without obſerving that the little owl*, that rare *Engliſh* ſpecies, has been ſhot in ſome adjacent woods. It is very frequent abroad; where they collect in autumn and the ſpring in great flocks, in order to migrate in ſearch of field-mice. *Childrey*, in his *Britannia Baconica* †, mentions two inſtances of armies of ſtrange painted owls, that came in 1580, and in 1648, into *Eſſex*, and waged war againſt the multitudes of mice in thoſe times deſtroying the country: but whether they were owls of this ſpecies I cannot determine. I am aſſured by Mr. STUART, that this kind viſits *Attica* in vaſt flocks every ſpring, and breeds there. It is no wonder that the *Athenian* goddeſs ſhould have this bird as her concomitant, being ſo very common there. It is very frequently expreſſed on the *Athenian* coins and ſculptures; and I have ſeen it placed on the hand of a ſtatue of hers, in the noble collection belonging to *William Weddel*, Eſq; at *Newby* in *Yorkſhire*.

Within a ſmall diſtance from *Overton*, I entered the county of

SALOP or SHROPSHIRE.

at *Trench-lane*, once infamous for its depth and badneſs. This county was peopled by the *Cornavii*; and, till the time of *Offa*, was divided between the princes of *Powys* and the *Mercian* kingdom: but *Offa*, after his expulſion of the *Welſh* from their antient ſeat of *Pengwern* or *Shrewſbury*, added their part to his dominions. At the Conqueſt, it was poſſeſſed by the brave *Edwin*,

* *Brit. Zool.* i. No. 70.
† P. 14. 100.

Edwin, the laſt earl of *Mercia*. On his death, it was beſtowed by the Conqueror on *Roger de Montgomery*, a potent *Norman*, the firſt earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewſbury*.

Elleſmere The country, for the greateſt part of the way to *Elleſmere*, is flat, dirty, and unpleaſing. On the approach to the town, becomes more agreeable; and about it, breaks into the moſt beautiful riſings, fertile, and finely wooded; the bottoms are indeed deſtitute of rivers; but frequently filled with little lakes, called here *meres*, elegantly bordered by the cultivated hills. It is ſingular that none of them are the parents of ſtreams; their increaſe from rains and ſprings, and their loſs by exhalations, keep ſuch equal pace!

ELLESMERE is a town ſeated on a lake of a hundred and one acres in dimenſions; and whoſe greateſt depth is twenty-ſix yards; well ſtocked with fiſh.

The environs have two advantages ſuperior to the other lakes. A good town borders on one ſide: the fine park of *Ockle* or *Ottley*, is a great ornament to another. The property of the water is in the duke of *Bridgewater*.

The town is of *Saxon* origin, and takes its name from the water; which was called *Aelſmere*, or the *greateſt mere*, being the chief in this part of the county. The place has little to boaſt of except its ſituation. The principal trade is that of malt; the barley of the neighbourhood being remarkably good.

Caſtle. The caſtle ſtood on a vaſt artificial mount on a riſing ground, with three great ditches on the more acceſſible ſide. At preſent not a veſtige is to be ſeen; the top being formed into a bowling-green, that may vie with any in *England*

gland for the elegance and extent of inland proſpect; of the lake beneath; of the rich country and woods ſurrounding the town. At a diſtance, *Cheſter* and the *Broxton* hills; *Wrexham* and the *Caergwrle* mountains; Caſtle *Dinas Brân*, and the *Berwyn* alps; and ſome of thoſe of *Merionethſhire*; *Llanymynach* hill, the *Breyddin*, *Pimhill*, *Cleehill*, and the noted *Wrekin*.

I cannot trace the founder of the caſtle, nor yet the time of its deſtruction. The place was poſſeſſed, as before ſaid, by *Edwin* immediately before the Conqueſt; and on that event, by *Roger de Montgomery*.

In 1177, it was transferred to a prince of *North Wales*. *Henry* II. in that year, aſſembled a council at *Oxford*, and, among other regulations for the ſecurity of the kingdom, beſtowed on *David ap Owen* his natural ſiſter *Emma*, with the lordſhip of *Elleſmere* as a portion. This the politic monarch did, in hopes of retaining the affections of *David*, and to prevent a breach with the *Welſh*; who gave him ſuch great diſturbance, and ſo often baffled his greateſt endeavours to ſubdue them during the reign of *Owen Gwynedd* father to *David*. This alliance anſwered his purpoſe; for the *Engliſh* remained unmoleſted during the life of that prince.

After his deceaſe, *Robert Lupus* held, by his bailiff, this manor.

After this, it came a ſecond time into the hands of a prince of *Wales*. King *John*, by grant dated from *Dover*, *April* 16th 1204, beſtowed it, with *Joan*, his natural child by *Agatha* daughter of *Robert Ferrers* earl of *Derby*, on *Llewelyn ap Jorwerth*. It is probable that *John* hoped, by means of his ſon-in-law, to terrify

terrify the lord marchers into obedience: but the unfortunate monarch reaped no benefit from the alliance. *Joan* proved unfaithful to our prince's bed; who hanged *William de Breos*, author of his disgrace, and turned his arms against the *English*. This induced *John* to divest *Llewelyn* of the government of so important a fortress as a frontier castle; for, by a writ dated from *Warwick*, in the tenth year of his reign, he orders the governor, *Bartholomew Tural*, to deliver it instantly to *William* earl of *Salisbury* and *Thomas* of *Endinton*. But still left the revenues of the lands to his daughter.

In the fourth of *Henry* III. or the year 1219, *Roger L'Estrange* yielded to the king the manors of *Colmere* and *Hampton*; but received them again, together with the hundred of *Ellesmere* and its castle; but for life only.

In 1236, or the 21st of the same monarch, it appears that *John L'Estrange* was governor of the castle. Four years after this, *Henry* determined no longer to leave a place of this consequence in the hands of the *Welsh*. Accordingly, we find him obliging *David ap Llewelyn* to make a formal renunciation of this territory, which he cedes for ever. The treaty was datted from *Alnet* on the *Elwy*, on the feast of the decollation of St. *John the Baptist*, in 1240.

In 1252, the 37th of *Henry* III. the manor and castle of *Ellesmere* were committed to *John de Grey*, paying an annual fine of ten shillings.

In the 43d year, or 1258, *Peter de Montfort* was governor of the castle. In the 51st, the manor, castle, and hundred were granted to *Hamon L'Estrange* and his heirs, with a provision out

out of the eſcheat of the manor, caſtle, and hundred, of a hundred pounds a year. This nobleman took a large ſhare in the barons wars; was excommunicated for his inſolence by the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but returning to his allegiance, was employed in places of truſt, which he diſcharged with the utmoſt fidelity. It is ſaid that he purchaſed the manors of *Coalmere* and *Hampton* from *Peter de Montfort*, which he left to his brother Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*. *Edward* I. in the fourth year of his reign, on the ſurrender of the grant of *Hamon* (which was to him and his heirs) confirmed it anew, on condition he would receive the caſtle and hundred of *Elleſmere* for life, and the remainder to the king in fee. This *Roger*, by the king's warrant, granted ſeveral parcels of the manor to different perſons: and about the ſame time, the waſtes and commons were incloſed and converted into freeholds.

In 1320, *Edward* II. on the inſurrection of the earl of *Lancaſter*, appointed *Oliver de Ingehan* governor of the caſtle. *Edward* III. in 1329, after cauſing the encroachments made on this manor to be reduced, beſtowed the caſtle, and the hamlets of *Colmere* and *Hampton*, on Sir *Eubule L'Eſtrange*, younger ſon of baron *L'Eſtrange* of *Knockin*. They continued in his line till 1477, the 17th of *Edward* IV. when, by the marriage of *Joan*, daughter of the laſt male heir, with *George Stanley*, eldeſt ſon to *Thomas*, earl of *Derby*, they were conveyed to that great houſe, which was poſſeſſed of them till 1549, the 42d of *Elizabeth*; when *William* earl of *Derby* had licence from the queen to alienate them; which he did, to *Richard Spencer* and *Edward Savage*; and they, to Sir *Thomas Egerton* keeper of the great ſeal, and afterwards chancellor

cellor of *England* and baron of *Elleſmere*. It is now in poſſeſſion of his deſcendant, the duke of *Bridgewater*, who has vaſt property about the town; but no ſeat, except a very mean one, called *Birch*.

The church antiently belonged to the knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*. It was granted to them by *Llewelyn*; and *Edward* III. confirmed to their prior the donation. The vicarage is in the gift of the duke of *Bridgewater*. The chapels of *Cockſhute*, *Dudleſton*, and *Penley*, are dependent on it.

In the church is an alabaſter figure of Sir *Francis Kynaſton* of *Ottley*; and another of his lady, much mutilated. He died in 1590. The venerable houſe to which this knight belonged, was one of the moſt antient freeholds now in the pariſh; being found to have been the property of the *Kynaſtons* in 1308, the 2d of *Edward* II. It has been diſtinguiſhed by many eminent perſons; particularly another Sir *Francis*, eſquire of the body to *Charles* I. famous for his *Latin* tranſlation of the Loves of *Troilus* and *Creſſida*, from the *Engliſh* of *Chaucer*.

From *Elleſmere* I continued my journey towards *Oſweſtry*. From an eminence called the *Perthy*, have a moſt extenſive view of the flat part of the county, bounded by the hills of *Denbighſhire*, *Montgomeryſhire*, and *Shropſhire*. Amidſt them appear the vaſt gaps, through which the *Severn* and the *Dee* ruſh upon the plains out of their mountainous confinement. This tract is intermixed with woods, fertile land, and moors of great extent. After a ride of two or three miles along the flat, reach

HALSTON,

Halſton. the ſeat of the *Myttons*, my maternal anceſtry; a good houſe, built about the year 1690, with the

the advantage of wood and water, managed with excellent taſte by my worthy couſin *John Mytton* Eſq. The houſe is ſituated on an elevated plot of ground, which riſes out of an extenſive flat, great part of which was ſubject to frequent floods; an inconvenience which has ſince been removed by the preſent owner, at the expence of much trouble and money, in draining conſiderable tracts of low ground; whereby the neighbourhood is rendered more healthy and pleaſant. This flat being well dotted with trees, agreeably foreſhortens the proſpect, till it is bounded by the magnificent ſcenery of the ſurrounding hills, which diſtinctly form, in various ſhapes, many pleaſing points of view. A very extenſive wood flanks each ſide of the houſe, which is bounded by a fine piece of water, made by extending the banks of the river *Perry*, and by conveying a branch of it through the lower parts of the wood, incloſing ſeveral iſlands, whoſe ſhores are ſhaded by very large full-grown oaks; which all together forms one of the moſt pleaſing artificial pieces of water that is to be met with. The reſt of the grounds are watered with the river *Perry*; a ſtream which uſed to abound with excellent pike, perch, trout, dace, gudgeons, cray-fiſh, and eels, till modern luxury gave an additional ſpur to the dexterity of poachers; a grievance complained of, though encouraged, in this as well as in moſt rivers in the kingdom. The *Perry* riſes in the hills, in the pariſh of *Syllatyn*, and paſſes through ſeveral moors to the village of *Ryton*, and afterwards falls into the *Severn* a little below *Montford bridge*.

At this place was born the famous general *Mytton*, who commanded the parliament forces in General Mytton.

in *Charles* I's civil wars; by whoſe military proweſs moſt of the caſtles in *North Wales* were ſubdued; but finding that *Cromwell* and his party had farther deſigns than the mere defence of liberty (the cauſe in which he engaged) he reſigned his command and retired.

Here is a well-choſen library, and a good collection of pictures: amongſt which are ſome very capital; particularly, *Jacob*, and his ſon *Reuben* ſhewing *Joſeph*'s bloody ſhirt, by *Guercino*; a head, by *Raphael*; St. *Peter*, by *Guido*; king *David*, by *Dominichino* *. Mr. *William Mytton*'s curious manuſcripts of the *Shropſhire* antiquities are preſerved here; a work which he had been many years engaged in with indefatigable attention, but, unfortunately for the public, died before he could complete his deſign. To his labours I owe frequent obligations in this part of the work.

Antient Owners.

In *Saxon* times, the lordſhip of *Halſton* belonged to *Edric*. At that time there were on it two *Welſhmen* and one *Frenchman*. After the Conqueſt, it became the property of *Guarine*, ſheriff of *Shropſhire*, anceſtor to the *Fitzalans* earls of *Arundel*, by marriage with a *Mellet Peverel*, who received this as part of her fortune. Afterwards, it became a commandery belonging to the knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, beſtowed

* Mr. *Mytton* is in poſſeſſion of a carving, much reſembling that mentioned by Mr. WALPOLE, in his Anecdotes of Painting, ii. 42. It is the portrait of *Charles* I. full-faced, cut on a peach-ſtone: above is a crown. His face and cloaths, which are the *Vandyck* dreſs, are painted. On the reverſe is an eagle transfixed with an arrow; and around it this motto, *I feathered this arrow*. The whole is moſt admirably executed; and is ſet in gold with a cryſtal on each ſide. It probably was the work of *Nicholas Briot*, a great graver of the mint in the time of *Charles* I.

beſtowed on them by ſome of the *Fitzalans*. In the 26th of *Henry* VIII. it was valued at 160*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* a year *.

At the diſſolution, *Henry* VIII. empowered, by his letters patent, *John Sewſter* Eſq; to diſpoſe of this manor to *Alan Horde*, who did homage for it; and afterwards exchanged it for other lands, with *Edward Mytton* of *Habberley*; which alienation was confirmed afterwards by queen *Elizabeth*.

The chapel is a donative, without any other revenue than what the owner is pleaſed to allow his chaplain; and is of exempt juriſdiction.

The name imports ſomething of ſanctity, ſignifying the *Holy Stone*. Probably a croſs or ſtone, the object of ſuperſtition, might once have ſtood here; but that and its legend are quite loſt. That it had been a ſanctuary is evident. In the reign of *Richard* I. *Meyric Llwyd*, deſcended from *Hêdd Molwynog*, one of the fifteen tribes of *North Wales*, indignant at certain injuries done his country, by the introduction of new laws and new cuſtoms, ſeized ſeveral of the king's officers appointed to ſee them executed, and ſlew ſome, and hung others. He fled the rage of his enemies, and took refuge at this place †.

At a mile's diſtance from *Halſton*, I reached *Whittington*; a village of ninety-four families, ſeated in a pariſh of the ſame name. The number of families in the whole amounts to two hundred and ſeventy-five. The population has of late encreaſed pretty much. The addition to the numbers in the pariſh have chiefly been confined to the village, owing to the ſeveral houſes

Whittington.

* *Tanner*, 457. † *Davies*'s diſplay of heraldry, 45.

houſes built for the conveniency of labourers, by the family of the *Myttons*; which evinces the duty and utility of the rural reſidence in our gentry, by promoting population, and cheriſhing the induſtrious poor.

Mr. LLOYD, in his *Archæologia* *, imagines this place might have been celebrated under the name of *Drêv Wen*, or the *White Town*, by *Llowarch Hên*, a noble bard of the race of the *Cumbrian Britons*, who flouriſhed in the year 590. Here, ſays he, was ſlain *Condolanus*, a chieftain of his country, in an attempt to expel a ſet of *Iriſh* invaders:

Y *Drev Wen* ym mron y coed:
Yſeu yu y hevras erioed:
Ar wyneb y gwelht y gwaed.
Y *Drev Wen* yn yd hymyr
Y hevras y glâs vyvyr
Y gwaed y dan draed y gwyr.

Some part of this is too obſolete to be tranſlated. It expreſſes in general the rage of a battle: and that the graſs under the feet of the warriors was ſtained with blood.

Our bards alſo make this place the property of *Tudor Trevor*, a *Britiſh* nobleman who lived in the year 924, and in right of his mother *Rhiengar* (grandaughter and heireſs of *Caradoc-Freichfras*, ſlain by the *Saxons* in the battle of *Ruddlan* †, in 795) earl of *Hereford*; and in the right of his father *Tnyr ap Cadvarch*, lord of both *Maelors*, *Chirk*, *Whittington*, and *Oſweſtry*, *Ewias* and *Urchenfield*.

After

3

* P. 260. † *Powel*, 20. *Collins's Baronets*, iii. 129.

After the Conqueſt, it was held by *Roger* earl of *Shrewſbury*. It is called in the Doomſday book *Wititone*. It had at that time eight *berewicks* or corn-farms; twelve *boveria* or oxſtalls; and a league of wood. The mill yielded five ſhillings, and the *Welſh* reſidents there paid twenty ſhillings.

On the forfeiture of the cruel *Robert* earl of *Shrewſbury*, it was beſtowed on *William*, a ſiſter's ſon of *Pain Peverel*, lord of *Whittington*; and by the marriage of his ſecond daughter *Mellet* with *Guarine de Metz*, a noble *Lorrainer*, it became his property, about the year 1083. The deeds of arms, and feats of chivalry, made their progeny the admiration of the times, and the ſubject of high-flown romance. *Guarine*, then lord of *Abberbury*, and ſheriff of the county, hears of the reſolution of *Mellet*, to marry no one but the knight of moſt diſtinguiſhed proweſs. The emulous youths were to aſſemble at *Peverel*'s place, or the caſtle in the *Peak*, there to approve their worth. Our knight appears among the reſt, with his *ſylver ſhelde, and a proude pecok upon his heualme creſte*; overthrows his rivals; carries off the fair prize; and receives the lordſhip of *Whittington* as her dower. His poſterity aſſumed the name of *Fitz-warine*; continued lords of this place for near four hundred years; and every heir, for nine deſcents, preſerved the Chriſtian name of *Fulk*.

This warlike race, and their warlike neighbours the *Welſh*, had perpetual feuds: their ſpirits were too congenial to enjoy peace. *Guarine* and the prince of *Wales* inſtantly attacked each other. The ſon of *Conan* had the advantage*, and carried deſtruction through all

* *Dugdale Baron.* i. 443.

all the borders. *Guarine* died in the reign of *Henry* I. and left behind him a ſon, the firſt *Fulk Fitz-warine*, one of the great glories of his race, who ſhone pre-eminent in the heroic line.

Love was the firſt inducement, in the days of chivalry, to great actions in youthful breaſts. *Fulk* becomes enamoured with *Hawiſe*, the daughter of his guardian *Joos*. At her requeſt, he relieves the father from moſt imminent danger; and receives her hand in reward.

To him was entruſted by *Henry* I. the care of the marches, about the year 1122; from which he was ſtyled *Fulco vicecomes*, or the *lieutenant*. It was not long before he found employ for his ſword. The brave *Gryffydd ap Conan* carried his arms into the borders; had a perſonal engagement with our hero; received a wound in his ſhoulder, and was obliged to ſeek ſafety in flight; but the victor did not eſcape unhurt *. In future enterprizes he was leſs fortunate: the *Britiſh* prince wreſted from him the lordſhip and caſtle of *Whittington*; which, by a ſucceeding treaty with *Henry* II. in the ſecond year of his reign, *Owen Gwynedd* thought proper to retain; and *Fulk* was compenſated by a grant of the honour of *Alſton* in *Glouceſterſhire*. He died in an advanced age, and was buried at *Abberbury*.

I muſt not forget, that it is related of this *Fulk*, that being at the play of cheſs with *John*, ſecond ſon to *Henry* II. he received from him a blow with the board, which he returned with ſuch violence, as almoſt to demoliſh the young prince.

The

* *Dugdale Baron.* i. 443.

THE ſucceeding *Fulk* did not degenerate from his anceſtors. He rendered himſelf ſo renowned in the wars abroad, that a *French* romance was compoſed on the actions of himſelf and progenitors; and tranſlated into *Engliſh*, under the title of the *Geſtes of* GUARINE *and his ſonnes* *. It conſiſts, as in the caſe of moſt writings of this nature, of a mixture of ſome truth with much fiction.

To him was reſtored the caſtle of *Whittington* and its dependencies, after ſatisfaction had been made by king *John* to *Wrenoc* and *Wennen*, the ſons of *Meyric*, on whom the prince of *Wales* had beſtowed it in the reign of *Henry* II. *Wrenoc* received certain lands in the neighbourhood, which he was to hold by the ſervice of being the king's *Latimer*, or interpreter, in theſe parts, between the *Welſh* and the *Engliſh* †. *Fulk*, notwithſtanding this, fell afterwards from his allegiance to *John*; and was excommunicated by name ‡ for his defection from that monarch: but his ſufferings were in the cauſe of liberty; for he was among the glorious band who obtained from *John* the charter ſo highly prized by every true *Briton*.

IT appears that he did not neglect in the following reign, to obtain a confirmation of theſe eſtates, and to ſecure them to all poſterity. He obtained in 1219 from *Henry* III. a grant of *Whittington* to him and his heirs; for which he gave the king two hundred and ſixty-two pounds, and two courſers. He alſo procured the liberty of a market here on a *Wedneſday*, and

* Much of it is preſerved in the firſt volume of *Leland's Collectanea*, p. 230. † *Blunt's* antient tenures, 17. ‡ *Rymer.*

a fair on St. *Luke*'s day; for which he preſented his majeſty with a palfrey. The firſt is loſt. There are ſtill conſiderable fairs or ſhews of cattle on the laſt *Thurſdays* in *April*, *July*, and *September*.

Fairs.

From another favour beſtowed on him by the ſame monarch, in the year 1220, it appears, that probably the caſtle of *Whittington* had been diſmantled by the *Welſh*; for *Henry* gives permiſſion to this *Fulk* to fortify it. The memory of this is ſtill preſerved in a room in the gate-way, by the figure of a knight on horſeback coarſely painted on the wall, with the following lines, now almoſt obliterated, placed beneath;

This was Sir *Foulk Fitz-warren*, late a great and valiant knight,
Who kept the *Britons* ſtill in awe, and oftimes put to flight.
He of this caſtle owner was, and held it by command
Of *Henry*, late ſurnamed the third, then king of all this land.
His grandfather a *Lorrainer*, by fame was much befriended,
Who *Peveley*'s daur took to wife, from this *Foulk* deſcended.
His antient feats of chivalry in annals are recorded,
Our king of *England* afterwards him baron made, and lorded.

DUGDALE informs us, that this baron was drowned in a river at the battle of *Lewes*, fighting in behalf of the king; but Mr. *Mytton* reaſonably ſuppoſes, that it muſt have been his ſon who appeared in the field that day: for, from the time that this *Fulk* was appointed lieutenant of the marches by *Richard* I. to that of the battle, ſeventy-five years had elapſed; ſo it is probable that he was dead, or at leaſt unable to act the warrior. His ſon, therefore, muſt have been the perſon who fell in that fatal action; followed by a body of hardy ſoldiers raiſed in theſe marches,

marches, inured to war by their frequent conflicts with the *Welſh*.

Immediately on the defeat, the rebel victor, *Montfort* earl of *Leiceſter*, appointed *Peter de Montfort*, a creature of his own, governor of this caſtle; and ſoon after, making uſe of the captive monarch's power againſt himſelf, obliged him* to reſign to *Llewelyn ap Gryffydd* prince of *Wales*, the hundred of *Elleſmere*, ſeveral of the border caſtles, and among others that of *Whittington* and its appertenances. This writ was dated from *Hereford*, *June* 22d 1265. *Henry* alſo ceded to him the ſovereignty of *Wales*, and homage of all the *Welſh* barons, and the lord of *Whittington*. Theſe grants were afterwards confirmed to him by *Henry*, with the homage of the neighbouring counties (which were uſually paid to princes anceſtors) in conſideration of 30,000 marks paid by *Llewelyn*.

In 1281, *Fulk* attended *Edward* I. in his expedition againſt the *Welſh*; and was rewarded by the grant of free-warren on his lands in this manor.

In 1300, he had a feud with his potent neighbour *Richard* earl of *Arundel*; but it was prevented by the interference of the king.

He died in the reign of *Edward* II. His ſon was at that time in *France*, in his majeſty's ſervice; whoſe lady, *Alionora*, had livery of the manor till her huſband could return to do homage.

In 1329, or the 3d of *Edward* III. the new earl was accuſed by *Edmund* earl of *Kent*, uncle to the king, of raiſing ſeditious reports,

R 2 that

* *Rymer*, i. 814.

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that *Edward* II. was ſtill alive; and endeavouring to excite a rebellion. For this offence his caſtle of *Whittington* was ſeized; but, by the interceſſion of his peers, reſtored to him the following year.

In the inſurrection of *Owen Glyndwr*, the vaſſals favoured his cauſe: but their lord obtained a pardon for them from *Henry* IV.

In 1420, the 8th of *Henry* V. this illuſtrious race became extinct in the male line; the laſt *Fulk* dying in his non-age, leaving *Elizabeth*, his only ſiſter, heireſs to his eſtates. She married *Richard Haukford* Eſq; who dying in 1430, the 9th of *Henry* VI. left an only daughter *Thomaſine*. She married Sir *William Bourchier*, created, on that account, lord *Fitz-warine*. A deſcendant of his, *John* earl of *Bath*, exchanged this manor with *Henry* VIII. for other lands. *Edward* VI. granted it to *Henry Grey* duke of *Suffolk*: and *Mary*, on his attainder, beſtowed it on *Henry* laſt earl of *Arundel* of the name of *Fitz-alan*. It was by him mortgaged to one *William Albany*, and other citizens of *London*. The laſt releaſed their title to *Albany*, who foreclоſed the eſtate. His great granddaughter, and ſole heireſs, married *Thomas Lloyd* of *Aſton*, Eſq; in this county.

Caſtle. The caſtle ſtands on a flat: the gateway, and the ruins of two vaſt round towers, with cruciform ſlips by way of windows, ſtill remain; and the bare veſtiges of two others may yet be traced. It had been ſurrounded by a moat, and ſeveral vaſt ditches, which comprehended ſeveral other works. The moat was filled by a rivulet that riſes near *Pentre Pant*, in the pariſh of *Selatyn*. On entering this pariſh, it is loſt for near a mile, and emerges in the fields on the back of the caſtle.

It

It is probable, that this was a place of defence from the time of its earlieſt poſſeſſors. No place on the borders of unfriendly nations could poſſibly remain unfortified; but the architect of the caſtle whoſe ruins we now contemplate, was certainly the great *Fitz-warine*, grandſon of *Guarine*, founder of the family. Theſe were among the greateſt of the barons called *Lord marchers of Wales*; of whoſe origin an ample account will be given in the appendix.

Steward. The ſteward of the manor holds annually a court-leet and court-baron in a room in the caſtle; to which the inhabitants are ſummoned, and fined one penny each for non-attendance. Chief-rents are paid to the lord; and a heriot of the beſt beaſt is claimed at the death of moſt of the freeholders within the lordſhip.

Church. The church, dedicated to St. *John* the *Baptiſt*, is a rectory, valued in the king's books at 25*l.* 4*s.* It is a ſmall building, ſuppoſed to have been originally deſigned as the chapel to the caſtle, and made out of the refuſe materials of that fortreſs by its founder. According to the tradition of the place, he was buried in the porch, it being an act of devotion, in thoſe days, for all perſons, on their entrance into churches or religious houſes, to pray for the ſouls of the founders and benefactors. *Fulk Fitz-warine*, ſeventh of the name, who had the greateſt revenue of any of the family, by will, dated the 15th of *Richard* II. directed that his body ſhould be buried in the chancel. The largeſt part of his eſtates were in other counties; but he gave this place the preference, as the antient ſeat of the family.

In

In the year 1630, a commiſſion was iſſued from the council in the marches of *Wales*, to *John Trevor* and *Richard Lloyd*, gentlemen, to make a terrier of the glebe-land, and to return an inventory of the furniture belonging to it; among which were found three pair of armour, furniſhed with two head-pieces. Theſe ſeem to have been deſigned for the uſe of the rector, for the defence of the caſtle, in caſe of any ſudden inroad of the *Welſh*.

After leaving the village, in the road towards *Oſweſtry*, I obſerved on the right *Trenewydd*, a ſeat of *Watkin Williams* Eſq; in right of his mother, heireſs of the place. Her grandfather, *Edward Lloyd* Eſq; who died in 1715, was eminent for his learning, and had prepared materials for the hiſtory of this his native country. Continue my journey to

OSWESTRY,

Oſweſtry. a conſiderable town, about two miles diſtant from *Whittington*; a place celebrated in *Saxon* hiſtory and legendary piety. On this ſpot, on *Auguſt* 5th 642*, was fought the battle between the Chriſtian *Oſwald*, king of the *Northumbrians*, and the Pagan *Penda*, king of the *Mercians*. *Oſwald* was defeated, and loſt his life. The barbarian victor cut the body of the ſlain prince into pieces, and ſtuck them on ſtakes diſperſed over the field, as ſo many trophies; or, according to the antient verſes that relate the legend, his head and hands only were thus expoſed:

Cujus

* *Sax. Chron.* 31.

Cujus et abſciſſum caput abſciſſoſque lacertos,
Et tribus affixos palis pendere cruentos
Penda jubet: per quod reliquis exempla relinquat
Terroris manifeſta ſui, Regemque beatum
Eſſe probet miſerum: ſed cauſam fallit utramque;
Ultor enim fratris minime timet *Oſwium* illum
Immo timere facit. Nec rex miſer, immo beatus
Eſt, qui fonte boni fruitur ſemel, et ſine fine.

'Three croſſes, rais'd at *Penda*'s dire commands,
'Bore *Oſwald*'s royal head and mangled hands:
'To ſtand a ſad example to the reſt,
'And prove him wretched who is ever bleſt.
'Vain policy! for what the victor got
'Prov'd to the vanquiſh'd king the happier lot:
'For now the martyr'd ſaint in glory views
'How *Oſwy* with ſucceſs the war renews:
'And *Penda* ſcarcely can ſupport his throne,
'Whilſt *Oſwald* wears a never-failing crown.'

It is probable that the *Britons* beſtowed on the ſpot where the battle was fought, the name of *Maes hir*, or the *long field*, or combat, from the obſtinacy of the conflict. The *Saxons*, for a conſiderable time, retained the name of the place where the action was fought, with the addition of their own vernacular word *feld*, or *felth*, a field; as *maſerfeld*, *maſerfelth*, and corruptly, *maſafeld*.

In

Campus *Meſafeld* ſanctorum canduit *Oſſa**.
The bones of ſaints at *Meſafeld* were bleach'd.

* *Henry of Huntingdon*, lib. iii. p. 331.

In after-days, the name became entirely *Saxon*; and from the fate of the king was ſtyled *Oſwald's tree*; now *Oſweſtry*; and by the *Welſh* rendered *Croes-oſwallt*. Before this event, and for a long ſpace beyond, this tract was the property of the *Britons*; till it was conquered by *Offa*, and brought within the verge of his famous ditch.

A PRINCE ſo dear to the church as *Oſwald*, and ſo attached to the profeſſors of the monaſtic life, received every poſthumous honour that they could beſtow. He was raiſed to the rank of a ſaint; and his ſanctity confirmed by numberleſs miracles. His reliques (which were removed the year following by *Oſwy*) were efficacious in all diſorders incident to man or beaſt. The very ſpot on which his pious corpſe had lain, imparted its virtue by the mere contact: the horſe of a traveller, wearied by exceſs of labour, ſtopt here, lay down, and, rolling about in agony, luckily tumbled on the place where *Oſwald* fell. No ſooner had he touched the ground, than he ſprung up in full vigour. His maſter, a man of great ſagacity! marked the ſpot; mounted his nag, and ſoon reached his inn. There he found a young woman ill of the palſy. He told the adventure of his horſe; perſuaded her friends to try the ſame remedy; cauſed her to be tranſported there; and ſhe inſtantly found the ſame benefit *.

Miracle.

Church. A CHURCH aroſe on the place of martyrdom, dedicated to the ſaint. A monaſtery was founded, which bore the name of *Blanc-*

* *Bede* Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. c. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. are all replete with tales of this kind.

Blanc-minſter, *Candida eccleſia album monaſterium*, and *White-minſter*. It is very ſingular, that no evidences exiſt, either of the time of the foundation or of the diſſolution. The laſt muſt have happened in *Saxon* days; for, immediately after the Conqueſt, the church of St. *Oſwald* was beſtowed on the abby of *Shrewſbury*. Biſhop *Tanner* doubts whether there ever was a monaſtery here *; but the authority of *Leland* puts this much out of the queſtion — that there once ſtood here ſome ſort of religious foundation; for he expreſsly ſays, that the cloiſters, with tombs of the monks, remained in the memory of man †. I am inclined to think it to have been collegiate; a ſpecies of eſtabliſhment very frequent in places of martyrdoms or of aſſaſſinations, reverential or expiatory, according to the nature of the event. Something of this kind exiſted here toward the latter end of the reign of *Henry* II; for *Reinerus* biſhop of St. *Aſaph* (who had a houſe near the place) alienated all the tythes of hay and corn of this church and its chapels. Theſe ſerved to maintain twelve prieſts; but *Reiner* beſtowed the revenues on the monks of *Shrewſbury*; and by the papal authority expelled the antient ſeculars ‡. I muſt remark, that moſt of them had lawful wives; for the *Welſh* clergy, for a long time, reſiſted the impoſition of the church of *Rome* in the article of celibacy, as well as ſeveral others.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS attended the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to this place, in order to incite people to take arms for the purpoſed *Cruſade*.

* *Monaſticon*, 445. † *Itin.* v. 39.
‡ *Powel's* note on *Girald. Cambr. Itin.* 877. *Goodwin de Præſul. Angl.* 657.

Cruſade. It is ſingular, that he mentions as little of it as he does of *Baſingwerk.* He ſays he went from *Cheſter* towards *Album Monaſterium*, where he was met by *Gryffyd ap Madoc*, and *Eliſſa*, and ſeveral other *Welſhmen* of diſtinction. Some undertook the romantic war; and, according to cuſtom, were marked with the ſign of the croſs by *Reiner.* When that buſineſs was over, they entered the town of *Oſwaldeſtree*, and were moſt magnificently entertained by the young earl of *Arundel*, after the *Engliſh* faſhion; which *Giraldus* ſeems to think ſavoured too much of luxury *.

Some writers entertain doubts, whether this place was the *Album Monaſterium* viſited by *Giraldus*; and endeavour to fix it at *Whitechurch*; but thoſe may be eaſily removed; when it is certain that it was in *Powyſland*, a pretenſion that the other has no claim to: beſides, *Oſweſtry* and *Whitechurch* are mentioned as diſtinct places in the *Rotuli Walliæ* †. *Ralph*, the third earl of *Cheſter*, took the addition of *Blondeville*, from being born at this place; and *John Fitz-alan* dates from *Album Monaſterium*, in 1271, a grant of certain lands, which he had made to the ſee of St. *Aſaph* ‡.

Oſwald's Well.

At preſent, there is not a relique of any old buildings, excepting of the ruins of a chapel over a remarkably fine ſpring, that ſtill bears the name of the ſaint: and near the church is a ſpot moated round; whoſe uſe is now quite unknown.

I muſt

* *Girald. Cambr.* 875.

† 82. ‡ *Goodwin's* catalogue of *Engliſh* biſhops, edit. 1615.

I muſt add, that near the town is a field called *Cae-nef*, or *Heaven-field*, which ſome have imagined to have been the place of his martyrdom. His life and death hath given two places that title; for the *Saxon Heafenfeld* in *Northumberland* has the ſame meaning; and received it on account of the victory he obtained there over the *Cumbrian* prince; *Oſwald* attributing his ſucceſs ſolely to the intervention of Heaven. Cae-nef.

The preſent church is of no great antiquity; is ſpacious, and has a handſome plain tower. We learn from a monument in memory of Mr. *Hugh Yale*, that the old church was demoliſhed in 1616. I ſuppoſe that the preſent immediately roſe on the ruins. It ſtands quite out of the town, in a ſuburb without the *New-gate*; is a vicarage, under the patronage of the earl of *Powys*, who is alſo lord of this extenſive manor. Part of this pariſh ſtill uſe the *Welſh* language; for which reaſon, divine ſervice is in a certain proportion read by the miniſter. Church.

The town was fortified with a wall and four gates. That called the *Black-gate* is demoliſhed; the *New-gate*, the *Willow-gate*, and the *Beatrice-gate*, ſtill remain. The laſt is a handſome building, with a guard-room on both ſides; and over it the arms of the *Fitzalans*, a lion rampant. It probably was built by *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*, in the beginning of the reign of *Henry* IV. who beſtowed the name on it in honour of his wife *Beatrix*, natural daughter to the king of *Portugal*. Walls and Gates.

Over the *New-gate* is the figure of a horſe in full ſpeed, with an oaken bough in his mouth. There is a conjecture, but I will not pretend to ſay how well warranted, that it alluded to the generous breed of horſes which *Powyſland* (of which

which this was part) was famous for, derived from ſome fine *Spaniſh* ſtallions, introduced by *Robert de Beleſme* earl of *Shrewſbury*.

The walls were begun in the year 1277, or the ſixth of *Edward* I. who granted a murage or toll on the inhabitants of the county, which laſted for ſix years; in which time it may be ſuppoſed they were completed. They were about a mile in compaſs, and had a deep ditch on the outſide, capable of being filled with water from the neighbouring rivulets.

Caſtle. There are only a few fragments of the caſtle remaining. It ſtood on an artificial mount, with a great foſs, extending to the *Beatrice* gate on one ſide, and on the other to the *Willow*-gate. Our *Welſh* hiſtorians attribute the foundation to *Madoc ap Meredeth ap Bleddyn* prince of *Powis*, in 1148 *, *Leland* † gives ſome colour to this by ſaying, that in his time there was a tower called *Madoc*'s; but the *Engliſh* records place it in poſſeſſion of *Alan*, a noble *Norman*, who received it immediately from *William* the Conqueror, on his acceſſion. This *Alan* was the ſtock of the *Fitz-alans* earls of *Arundel*; a potent race, that flouriſhed (with fewer checks than uſual with greatneſs) for near five hundred years.

Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE ‡ ſays, that there was a caſtle at *Oſwaldſter* at the time of the Conqueſt; which I think probable. The artificial mount on which it was placed indicates it to have been earlier than the *Norman æra*. The *Britons* and the *Saxons* gave their fortreſſes this ſpecies of elevation. The *Normans* built on the firm and natural ſoil or rock; but often made

* *Powel*, 201. † *Itin.* v. 39.
‡ *Baronage.*

made uſe of theſe mounts, which they found to have been the ſite of a *Saxon* caſtle. I believe this to have been the caſe with that in queſtion. A *Fitz-alan* repaired or re-built, and added to that which he met with here: a tower alſo (as is not unfrequent) might receive the name of *Madoc*, complimentary either to the ſon of *Meredydd*, or ſome other great man of the ſame title.

This caſtle was the reſidence of the *Norman* owners, and had been completely finiſhed. Had its *ballium* or yard, which comprehended that part of the town ſtill called the *Bailey* head: its *Barbican* or outer-gate, where the maimed and blind were commonly relieved; a mount on the outſide of the great ditch was the ſite of this building; and, from the uſe, bears to this day the name of *Cripple-gate*. Laſtly, it had its chapel, placed at a little diſtance, dedicated to St. *Nicholas*, and was in the gift of the earls of *Arundel*.

I will not tire the reader with a dry liſt of ſucceſſors to this place, or the guardians of ſuch who were under age. I will only obſerve, that after the execution of *Edmund* earl of *Arundel*, in the reign of *Edward* II. his queen, to ſhew her predilection to her gentle *Mortimer*, obtained the poſſeſſion of it for that favourite.

The town was favoured with conſiderable privileges from its lords. It firſt charter, from its brevity called by the *Welſh Shartar Gwtta*, or the ſhort charter *, was granted by *William* earl of *Arundel*, in the reign of *Henry* II. I muſt obſerve here, that it imparted to the burgeſſes, the ſame privileges with thoſe of *Shrewſbury*. Shartar Gwtta.

The

* *Harleian* MSS. No. 1881. 6.

The ſame *William*, in a ſcutage in king *John's* time, was not to do ward at any place but *Blanc-minſter*, for the knights fees held by him: nor to furniſh more than ten ſoldiers, horſe, or foot, within the county of *Salop*; nor more than five out of it.

His ſon *John* took part with the barons againſt king *John*; who in revenge marched to *Oſweſtry* in 1216 *, and reduced the town to aſhes. On the death of that prince, he was reconciled to his ſucceſſor, *Henry* III, and in 1227, obtained for his manor of *Black-minſter* the grant of a fair, upon the eve, the day, and the day after the feaſt of St. *Andrew*. He alſo made the bailiffs clerks of the market, with power to impriſon any perſons who uſed fraudulent ways in buying or ſelling; for which they paid the conſideration of twenty marks. Theſe people frequently abuſed their power: it is therefore no wonder that ſo many of the grievances which the *Welſh* ſo much complained of to *Edward* I. ſhould originate from this place †.

Fair.

In 1233, this unfortunate town experienced a ſecond deſtruction, being again burnt by *Llewelyn ap Jorwerth* prince of *Wales* ‡. Proviſion was now made againſt future inſults; for, in the next reign, that of *Edward* I. the town was ſurrounded with walls. This happened when that politic monarch meditated the conqueſt of *Wales*; therefore thought proper to ſecure this town, one of the keys of the country, with proper defence.

In 1318, the reign of his unfortunate ſon, *Edmund* earl of *Arundel* was commanded to raiſe two

* *Wynn's* Hiſt. *Wales*, 242. † *Powel*, 362.
‡ Idem, 288.

two hundred foot-ſoldiers out of *Colne* and this neighbourhood, to repel the *Scots*.

In 1331, *Edward* III. granted another fair to this town; and in 1346, directed *Edmund Fitz-alan* to raiſe two hundred of his vaſſals from *Clun* and *Oſweſtry*, to attend him in the *French* wars.

In 1397, *Richard* earl of *Arundel* being attainted and executed, the king, *Richard* II. ſeized all his lands and manors, and granted them to *William le Scrope* earl of *Wiltſhire*, one of his favourites. He alſo granted to the town the firſt royal charter, incorporating it by the name of the bailiffs and burgeſſes of OSWESTRY *infra Palatinatum* CESTRIÆ *in marchiâ inter* ANGLIAM *et* WALLIAM. This was alſo founded upon the conſtitution of that of *Shrewſbury*. They were exempted throughout the kingdom (the liberty of the city of *London* excepted) *de Theolonio, Laſtugio, Paſſagio, Pontagio, Stallagio de Lene, et de Danegeldis, et Saynit, et omnibus aliis conſuetudinibus et exactionibus.*

First royal Charter.

Its new lord, the earl of *Wiltſhire*, fell a victim to the popular fury, on the depoſal of his royal maſter; and *Thomas* the ſon of the attainted earl, reſtored in blood. He proved a great benefactor to the corporation: he gave it a releaſe, in 1406, from a hundred pounds that they were indebted to him, in conſideration of the diſtreſſes the town ſuffered during the inſurrection of *Glyndwr*. He alſo obtained a pardon from the king for his vaſſals in *Chirk*, *Bromfield*, and this manor, for the ſhare they took in that commotion.

Thomas Earl of Arundel.

In the ſame year with the releaſe, he granted a moſt extenſive charter to the town, containing many matters that ſhew the cuſtoms

toms of the times, and merits, on that account, a detail of ſome of the particulars. To begin with a moſt eſſential one; 'Neither the 'lord or his heirs ſhould confiſcate or ſeize 'the effects of perſons dying with or without 'will in the corporation: That no burgeſs 'ſhould be compelled to be the lord's receiver 'general; but only collector of the iſſues ariſ-'ing within the borough: That the burgeſſes 'ſhould be diſcharged from all fees demanded 'by the conſtable of the caſtle, or any of his 'menial ſervants, for any felonies or treſpaſſes 'committed out of the ſame liberties, when 'brought to the priſon of the caſtle; ſaving, 'that the conſtable might receive one penny 'at his own election, from every manſion-'houſe in the town; and a farthing of every 'cottage on the feaſt of St. *Stephen* annually: 'That the burgeſſes ſhould be freed for the fu-'ture from all exciſe of ale brewed and ſold in 'the town, which had been hitherto payable, 'at the rate of ſeven pence for every *Bracena* '*ceruiſiæ* expoſed to ſale: That they were to 'be freed from the duty of *Amobr* or *Lyre-*'*wite**: That whoever lived in the houſe of a 'burgeſs, and happened to die there, the bur-'geſs was to have a heriot after his deceaſe; 'in the ſame manner as the *Uchelwyr*, or free-'holders reſiding on the lands of the lord in 'the hundred of *Oſweſtry*: That no *Shrewſ-'bury* ale ſhould be ſold in the town without 'licence, while any ale brewed in the town 'was to be had, under the penalty of ſix 'ſhillings and eight pence: That none of 'the inhabitants of the lordſhips of *Oſwe-'try*, *Melverley*, *Kinardſley*, *Egerley*, *Ruyton*, and 'the

His charter.

* Vide, page 221.

'the eleven towns *, ſhould drive or carry any 'cattle, corn, or victuals, or other wares, to 'any foreign fair or market, before the ſame 'had been firſt expoſed to ſale in the town of '*Oſweſtry*, under the penalty of ſix ſhillings 'and eight pence: That none of the lord's 'tenants ſhould be compelled to pay the *red-* 'ditus advocarii for the ſecurity of the caſtle, '&c. &c.'

Until the time of the above-mentioned charter, the lord's *Welſh* tenants of the hundred of *Oſweſtry* were accuſtomed by their tenure to keep watch and ward for three days and three nights at the four gates of the town, during the fairs of St. *Andrew* and St. *Oſwald*, with a number of men called *Kaies*: but theſe treacherouſly, with others, ravaged and plundered the place. On this the tenants were compelled to pay a ſum of money as wages to a ſufficient number of *Engliſhmen*, as the burgeſſes ſhould think convenient, for the cuſtody of the four gates; and the *Welſhmen* were for ever to be diſcharged from that duty. Guard at the gates.

The vaſſals of the earls of *Arundel* in theſe parts were of a mixed nature; either deſcendants of the *Norman* followers of their anceſtor *Alan*, or of the native *Welſh*, who were moſt numerous, and bore an hereditary diſlike to their co-tenants of foreign ſtock. The *Welſh* part was called *Walcheria*, and lay in the upper part of the manor.

This charter of earl *Thomas* was confirmed by his ſeveral ſucceſſors, to the time of *Henry* VIII.

* *Old Ruyton, Cotton, Shelvoke, Shottaton, Wykey, Eardeſton, Tedſmere, Rednall, Haughton, Sutton,* and *Felton*; which form a manor in *Oſweſtry* hundred.

Charles II. granted another; in which a mayor, twelve aldermen, fifteen common-council, a high-steward, and recorder, compose the body corporate.

About a mile from *Oswestry*, in the parish of *Sellatyn*, lies a fine military post, on an insulated eminence of an oblong form, which has been fortified with much art. The top is an extensive area, containing sixteen acres, three roods, and eight perches, of fertile ground, surrounded with two ramparts and fosses of great heights and depths. At a distance from these, at the foot of the hill, is another deep foss, which surrounds the whole, and ends (as do the two others) at the two entrances; which are placed diagonally opposite to each other. On the slope of the hill, on both sides of one entrance, are a range of deep oblong trenches, running transversely between the second ditch and another, which seems to be designed for their immediate protection; for the first extends no farther than these trenches; the other, to no great distance beyond them.

Old Oswestry. This place is called *Old Oswestry*, *Hên Ddinas*, and antiently *Caer Ogyrfan*, from *Ogyrfan* a hero co-existent with *Arthur*. There is no certainty of the origin of it: some ascribe it to *Oswald* or to *Penda*, and imagine that it was possessed, before the battle of *Maserfeld*, by one of those princes. Others think it to have been the work of the antient *Britons*; to which opinion I incline. The strength, and the labour in forming it, evince that it was not a sudden operation, like that of a camp. Its construction, even to the oblong trenches, is *British*; for example, that of *Bryn y Clawddiau*, on the *Clwydian* hills, which divide *Flintshire* from the vale of *Clwyd*, is a similar work.

A great

A great dike and foſs, called *Wat*'s, is continued from each ſide of this poſt. This work is little known, notwithſtanding it is equal in depth, though not in extent, to that of *Offa*. We ſhall here trace the courſe of each. *Wat*'s can only be diſcovered on the ſouthern part to *Maeſbury* mill, in *Oſweſtry* pariſh, where it is loſt in a moraſſy ground: from thence it takes a northern direction to *Hen-ddinas*, and by *Pentre'r Clawdd* to *Gobowen*, the ſite of a ſmall fort, in the pariſh of *Whittington*: then croſſes *Prys Henlle* common, into the pariſh of St. *Martin*, near which is a mount called *Bryn y Caſtell*: croſſes the *Ceiriog* between *Brynkinallt* and *Pont y Blew* forge, and the DEE below *Nant y Bela*; from whence it paſſes through *Wynn-ſtay* park, by another *Pentre'r Clawdd*, or townſhip on the ditch, to *Erddig*, the ſeat of *Philip Yorke* Eſq; where there was another ſtrong fort on its courſe: from *Erddig* it goes above *Wrexham*, near *Melin Puleſton*, by *Dolydd*, *Maeſgwyn*, *Rhoſddu*, *Croes-oneiras*, Mr. *Shakerley*'s *Gwerſyllt*; croſſes the *Alun*, and through the townſhip of *Llaj*, to *Rhydin*, in the county of FLINT; above which is *Caer-eſtyn*, a *Britiſh* poſt: from hence it runs by *Hope* church, along the ſide of *Moleſdale*, which it quits towards the lower part, and turns to *Mynydd Sychdyn*, *Monachlog* near *Northop*, by *Northop* mills, *Bryn-moel*, *Coed y Llys*, *Nant y Flint*, *Cefn y Coed*, through the *Strandfields*, near *Holywell*, to its termination below the abby of *Baſingwerk*. I have been thus minute in giving its courſe, becauſe it is ſo often confounded with OFFA's ditch, which attends the former at unequal diſtances, from five hundred yards to three miles, till the latter is totally loſt. Wat's Dyke.

Offa's Dyke.

OFFA'S ditch extended from the river *Wye*, along the counties of *Hereford* and *Radnor*, into that of *Montgomery*, where I ſhall take it up at its entrance into NORTH WALES, at *Pwll y Piod*, an ale-houſe on the road between *Biſhop's-caſtle* and *Newtown*; from thence paſſes northward, near *Mellington-hall*, near which is an encampment called *Caer-din*, by *Brompton* mill, where there is a mount; *Linor* park near *Montgomery*, *Forden* heath, *Nant-cribba*, at the foot of an antient fortreſs, *Layton-hall*, and *Buttington* church. Here it is loſt for five miles; the channel of the *Severn* probably ſerving for that ſpace as a continuation of this famous boundary; which, juſt below the conflux of the *Bele* and the *Severn*, appears again, and paſſes by the churches of *Llandyſilio* and *Llanymynech*, to the edge of the vaſt precipitous limeſtone-rock in the laſt pariſh: from this place it runs by *Tref y Clawdd*, over the horſe-courſe on *Cefn y Bwch*, above *Oſweſtry*, then above *Sellatyn*; from whench it deſcends to the *Ceiriog*, and thence to *Glyn*, where there is a large breach, ſuppoſed to be the interment of the *Engliſh* who fell in the battle of *Crogen*, hereafter to be mentioned: it then goes by *Chirk-caſtle*; and, below *Cefn y Wern*, croſſes the *Dee*, and the *Rhiwabon* road near *Plâs Madoc*, forms part of the turnpike road to *Wrexham*, to *Pentre Bychan*, where there is a mount; then by *Plâs Bower* to *Adwy'r Clawdd*, near *Minera*; by *Brumbo*, croſſes *Cegidog* river, and through a little valley on the ſouth-ſide of *Bryn Yorkyn* mountain, to *Coed Talwrn* and *Cae-deon*, a farm near *Treyddin* chapel, in the pariſh of *Mold* (pointing towards the *Clwydian* hills); beyond which there can no farther traces be diſcovered.

No

No reaſon appears why its courſe was not continued from ſea to ſea. It ſeems probable that *Offa* imagined that the *Clwydian* hills, and the deep valley that lies on this ſide at their baſe, would ſerve as a continuance of his prohibitory line: he had carried his arms over moſt part of *Flintſhire*, and vainly imagined, that his labours would reſtrain the *Cambrian* inroads in one part, and his orders prevent any incurſions beyond theſe natural limits, which he had decreed ſhould be the boundaries of his new conqueſts. The weakneſs of this great work appeared on the death of *Offa:* the *Welſh* with irreſiſtible fury, deſpiſed his toils, and carried their ravages far and wide on the *Engliſh* marches. Superior force often repelled our countrymen. Sanguinary laws were made by the victorious *Harold* againſt any that ſhould tranſgreſs the limits preſcribed by *Offa*. The *Welſhman* that was found in arms on the *Saxon* ſide of the ditch, was to loſe his right-hand *.

It is obſervable, that in all parts the ditch is on the *Welſh* ſide; and that there are numbers of ſmall artificial mounts, the ſites of ſmall forts, in many places along its courſe. Theſe were garriſoned, and ſeem intended for the ſame purpoſes as the towers in the famous *Chineſe* wall, to watch the motions of their neighbours, and to repel the hoſtile incurſions.

It is remarkable, that *Wat*'s dyke ſhould have been overlooked or confounded with that of *Offa*, by all writers, except by *Thomas Churchyard* the poet †, who aſſigns the object of the work:

* *Leland Collect.* iii. 230. *Joannes Sariſburienſis*, as quoted by *Camden*, 698.

† Vide *Churchyard*'s Worthines of *Wales*, originally printed in 1587; printed by *Thomas Evans*, 1776.

work: that the ſpace intervening between the two was free ground, where the *Britons* and *Saxons* might meet with ſafety for all commercial purpoſes.

Sellatyn. From *Oſweſtry* I took the road to *Sellatyn*, a pariſh containing about ſix hundred inhabitants. Its regiſter commences in 1557; was fortunately ſaved from the great wreck of ſuch records by Mr. *Wilding*, an *Oliverian* rector in the civil wars. It appears from it, that the ſtate of population in the firſt and the laſt twenty years was as follows:

	Firſt.	Laſt.	Encreaſe.
Baptiſms,	258	- 410	- 152
Weddings,	29	- 98	- 69
Funerals,	189	- 257	- 68

This happy diſproportion of encreaſe between births and burials, ſeems to ariſe from the hilly ſituation of the pariſh; which ſlopes down to the moory flats of thoſe of *Oſweſtry* and *Whittington*, without partaking the leaſt of their nature. The improvements in agriculture contribute much to retain numbers of the inhabitants, by finding them a wholeſome and innocent employ: the want of which exiles multitudes, in many places, to the vice and diſeaſe of great cities.

Porkington. The firſt houſe I viſited is *Porkington*, the ſeat of *Robert Godolphin Owen* Eſq. This place takes its name from a ſingular entrenchment in a neighbouring field, called *Caſtell Brogyntyn*, a fort belonging to *Owen Brogyntyn*, a natural ſon to *Owen Madoc ap Meredydd* prince of *Powis Vadog* †. It is of a circular form, furrounded with

† *Powel*, 212.

with a vaſt earthen dyke, and a deep foſs. It appears by an old drawing in Mr. *Mytton*'s collection, to have had two entrances, pretty cloſe to each other, projecting a little from the ſides, and diverging; the end of each guarded by a ſemi-lunar curtain. Theſe are now deſtroyed. The whole pariſh conſiſts of a ſingle townſhip, which alſo bears the ſame title with the manſion.

The name of the houſe was ſoon altered to one very nearly reſembling the preſent. In 1218, *Henry* III. in an addreſs to *Llewelyn* prince of *Wales*, informs him, that among others, *Bleddyn Filius Oeni de* PORKINTON * had performed to his majeſty the ſervice he owed.

I muſt now make a very long tranſition from this period to that which produced another diſtinguiſhed perſonage of this family. Here is preſerved the portrait of Sir *John Owen* knight, of *Clenneney* in *Caernarvonſhire*; a gallant officer, and ſtrenuous ſupporter of the cauſe of *Charles* I. He greatly ſignalized himſelf at the ſiege of *Briſtol*, when it was taken by prince *Rupert*, and was deſperately wounded in the attack. Congenial qualities recommended him to his highneſs; who, ſuperſeding the appointment of archbiſhop *Williams* to the government of *Conway* caſtle, in 1645, conſtituted Sir *John* commander in his place. This fortreſs was ſoon given up to general *Mytton*, by the contrivance of the prelate, and the power of his friends: and the knight retired to his ſeat in the diſtant parts of the county. In 1648, he roſe in arms to make a laſt effort in behalf of his fallen maſter, probably in concert with the royaliſts

Sir John Owen.

* *Rymer*, i. 227.

royaliſts in *Kent* and *Eſſex*. He was ſoon attacked by *William Lloyd*, ſheriff of the county, whom he defeated, wounded, and made priſoner. He then laid ſiege to *Caernarvon*; but hearing that certain of the parliament forces, under the colonels *Carter* and *Twiſleton*, were on their march to attack him, he haſtened to meet them, and took the ſheriff with him on a litter. He met with his enemies near *Llandegai*: a furious rencontre enſued, in which Sir *John* had at firſt the advantage; but falling in with their reſerve, fortune declared againſt him: in a perſonal conteſt with a captain *Taylor*, he was pulled off his horſe, and made priſoner; and his troops, diſheartened by the loſs of their commander, took to flight. The ſheriff died the ſame day. The victory was eſteemed of that conſequence, that captain *Taylor*, who was the meſſenger of the news to the parliament, received a reward of two hundred pounds out of Sir *John*'s eſtate *.

Sir JOHN was conveyed to *Windſor* caſtle, where he found four noblemen under confinement for the ſame cauſe. On the 10th of *November*, a vote paſt for his baniſhment, and that of the lords *Goring*, *Loughborough*, *Capel*, the earl of *Holland*, and major-general *Langhern* †; but after the execution of their royal maſter, ſanguinary meaſures took place. The duke of *Hamilton*, the earl of *Holland*, and the lords *Goring* and *Capel*, were put upon their trials. Sir *John* ſhewed a ſpirit worthy of his country. He told his judges, that 'he was a plain gen-'tleman of *Wales*, who had been always taught 'to obey the king; that he had ſerved him ho-'neſtly during the war; and, finding many honeſt 'men

* *Ruſhworth*, ii. part iv. 1146.
† *Whitelock*, 348.

'men endeavoured to raiſe forces, whereby 'he might get him out of priſon, he did 'the like;' and concluded like a man who did not much care what they reſolved concerning him. In the end he was condemned to loſe his head; for which, with a humorous intrepidity, he made the court a low reverence, and gave his humble thanks. A byſtander aſked what he meant: he replied aloud, 'It was a great honour to a poor gentleman 'of *Wales* to loſe his head with ſuch noble 'lords; for by G—, he was afraid they would 'have hanged him.'

Sir JOHN, by mere good-fortune, was diſappointed of the honour he was flattered with; being, as his epitaph ſays, *Famæ plus quam vitæ ſollicito.* He neither ſolicited for a pardon, nor was any petition offered to parliament in his favour; which was ſtrongly importuned in behalf of his fellow-priſoners. *Ireton* proved his advocate, and told the houſe, 'That there was one perſon for 'whom no one ſpoke a word; and there-'fore requeſted, that he might be ſaved by 'the ſole motive and goodneſs of the houſe.' In conſequence, mercy was extended to him; and, after a few months impriſonment, he was, on his petition, ſet at liberty. He retired again into his country, where he died in 1666; and was interred in the church of *Penmorva* in *Caernarvonſhire*, where a ſmall monument preſerves the following epitaph.

M. S.

M. S.
JOHANNIS OWEN de
Clenneney in Co. *Carnarvon* militis,
viri
in patriam amoris ardentiſſimi:
in regem (beatiſſimum martyrem CAROLUM Ium)
indubitatæ fidelitatis clari;
qui ad ſacroſanctam majeſtatem a perduellionum
rabie eripiendam, ſumma pericula, lubentiſsè obivit,
Hoſtium copias non ſemel fudit, ac fregit;
religionem vindicavit:
Donec, infelici ſorte in perditiſſimorum hominum manus,
Regali jam ſanguine imbutas,
inciderit Dux præſtantiſſimus:
Unde ſupplex ſeſe obſeſſum redimerat
niſi quod Heroi conſummatiſſimo
Famæ plus, quam vitæ ſollicito, tale λυτρον diſplicuit.
collo igitur imperterrite oblato,
ſecuris aciem retudit divina vis;
volucriſque fati tardavit alas, donec ſenex lætiſſimus
CAROLUM 2dum et ſibi et ſuis reſtitutum viderat.

A°. Doni. 1666. et Ætatis ſuæ 66. placidé expiravit.

Sellatyn Church.

From *Porkington*, I aſcended to the pariſh-church. The legend of the foundation is, that a noble *Briton* being engaged in the chace, found in a thicket on this ſpot a white hind; which determined him (after the example of *Ethelred* king of the *Mercians*, in the inſtance of St. *John*'s church *Cheſter*) to dedicate it to ſacred uſes. He accordingly tranſlated to this place the antient church, which, tradition ſays, ſtood before on a ſpot ſtill called *Bryn hên Eglwys*, or the hill of the old church.

That high-church meteor, that party-tool, Doctor *Sacheverel*, was, in 1709, preſented to this living; not ſo much on account of its value, as to give him a pretence of making a progreſs through a long extent of the kingdom; and of trying the inclinations of the people in the rich and populous counties he was to paſs through. He was met on the confines of this by 5000 horſemen, among which were the firſt fortunes of *Shropſhire*. He met with reſpect, in every town, little ſhort of adoration. The crowd in *Oſweſtry* was ſo great, that a good woman could ſee only a ſmall part of the holy man; yet conſoled herſelf with having a ſight of his ever-bleſſed wig as he rode along. Doctor Sacheverel.

From hence I haſtened towards *Chirk* caſtle, keeping a lower road between two dykes. On approaching the village of *Chirk*, is a very deep valley, conſiſting of fertile meadows, watered by the brook *Ceiriog*, and finely bounded by lofty wooded banks. On the very verge of that next to *Chirk*, ſtands an artificial mount; and, I think, the veſtige of another, on the other ſide of the road which goes between them. Theſe were exploratory, and probably deſigned alſo for defence; and might have had on them a ſmall fort for the protection of the paſs. I imagine theſe mounts to have been *Saxon*, and coeval with the great labour of *Offa*, which runs at a ſmall diſtance from them.

In this deep valley, which winds along the foot of the vaſt *Berwyn* mountains, was a bloody conflict between part of the forces of *Henry* II. and the *Welſh*, in 1165. *Henry* had determined once more to attempt the ſubjection of *Wales*, and to revenge the ravages carried through the borders by its gallant prince Battle of Crogen.

Owen

Owen Gwynedd; for that end, he aſſembled a vaſt army at *Oſweſtry*. *Owen*, on the contrary, collected all his chieftains, with their dependants, at *Corwen*. The king, hearing that his antagoniſt was ſo near, reſolved to bring the matter to a ſpeedy deciſion, He marched towards him; and in this valley, finding himſelf intangled in impenetrable woods, and recollecting his ill-fortune among the foreſts of *Eulo*, directed his vanguard to make the paſſage clear, by cutting down the trees, in order to ſecure himſelf from ambuſcade. The pikemen, and flower of his army, were poſted to cover the workmen. The ſpirit of the common ſoldiers of the *Welſh* army grew indignant at this attempt; and, without the knowledge of their officers, fell with unſpeakable fury on theſe troops. The conteſt was violent; numbers of brave men periſhed; in the end, the *Welſh* retired to *Corwen*. *Henry* gained the ſummit of the *Berwyn*; but was ſo diſtreſſed by dreadful rains, and by the activity and prudence of *Owen*, who cut him off from all ſupplies, that he was obliged to return ingloriouſly, with great loſs of men and equipage *.

This conflict is ſometimes called the battle of *Corwen*; but with more propriety that of *Crogen:* for it happened beneath *Caſtelh Crogen*, the preſent *Chirk* caſtle; and the place is ſtill called *Adwy'r Beddau*, or the *paſs of the graves* of men who were ſlain here.

Church of Chirk. The church of *Chirk* is dedicated to St. *Mary*; and was formerly an impropriation belonging to the abby of *Valle Crucis*. Within

* *Powel*, 221.

Within is a profuſion of marble, cut into human forms, memorial of the later lords of the place, or their ladies. The beſt is a buſt of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, with a peaked beard, long hair; armed: and by him is another of his lady, a *Napier* of *Luton*. Sir *Thomas* was a ſucceſsful and active commander on the ſide of the parliament during the civil wars. Towards the end of his life, he found that he had undeſignedly eſtabliſhed a more intolerable tyranny than that which he had formerly oppoſed. In 1659, he took arms, in conjunction with Sir *George Booth*, in order to reſtore the antient conſtitution. Sir *George* was defeated by the vigilant *Lambert*; and Sir *Thomas* forced to take refuge in his caſtle, where, after two or three days ſhew of defence, he was conſtrained to ſurrender on ſuch conditions as the conqueror was pleaſed to dictate. Monuments.

The other monuments are compoſed of large and very ill-executed figures of lady *Middleton*, wife to Sir *Thomas Middleton* baronet, ſon of the former. She was daughter of Sir *Thomas Wilbraham* of *Woodhey*; and died at the early age of twenty-two, in the year 1675.

Sir RICHARD MIDDLETON, and his lady, *Frances* daughter of Sir *Thomas Whitmore* of *Buildas*. He died in 1716; ſhe in 1694. At their feet lies their ſon Sir *William*, who ſurvived his father only two years, dying at the age of twenty-four.

On a ſmall mural monument, is an epitaph on Doctor *Walter Balcanqual*, a *Scotch* divine of diſtinguiſhed character. In 1617, he was appointed maſter of the *Savoy* hoſpital, which he ſoon reſigned in favour of the able but deſultory *Marc Antonio di Dominis*, archbiſhop

biſhop of *Spalato*, in reward for his converſion to Proteſtantiſm. In 1618, he was ſent to repreſent his country in the famous ſynod of *Dort*. He was promoted to the deanery of *Rocheſter*; and, in 1639, to that of *Durham*; but by his great loyalty, having rendered himſelf hated by his countrymen, was, in 1645, obliged to take refuge in *Chirk caſtle*; but, ſinking under the fatigue of the journey, and ſeverity of the weather, died on *Chriſtmas*-day. The epitaph was compoſed by Dr. *Pearſon* biſhop of *Cheſter*, at the requeſt of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, by whom the monument was erected.

Caſtle. The caſtle lies about a mile from the village, in the courſe of *Offa*'s dike, on the ſummit of a lofty hill, projecting from the great maſs of the *Berwyn* mountains. Before the foundation of the preſent caſtle, ſtood another, called *Caſtell Crogen*; and the territory around bore the name of *Tref y Waun*, the property of the lords of *Dinas Brân*. It continued in their poſſeſſion till the death of *Gryffydd ap Madoc*, a ſtrenuous partizan of *Henry* III. and *Edward* I. *Edward*, on the deceaſe of *Gryffydd*, rewarded two of his favourites with the guardianſhip of the two eldeſt ſons of *Gryffydd*: *Madoc*, to *John* earl *Warren*; and *Llewelyn* to *Roger Mortimer*, ſon of *Roger* baron of *Wigmore*: who, as before related, quickly diſpatched the unhappy youths, and poſſeſſed themſelves of their fortunes. Earl *Warren* ſeized on the lordſhips of *Bromfield* and *Yale*; *Mortimer* on thoſe of the preſent *Chirk* and *Nan-heudwy*. He became the founder of the caſtle. It continued in his family but a ſhort time, being ſold by his grandſon *John*, to *Richard Fitz-alan* earl of *Arundel*. The *Fitz-alans*

alans poſſeſſed it for three generations; after which it paſſed to *Thomas Mowbray* duke of *Norfolk*, and juſtice of *North Wales*, *Cheſter*, and *Flint*, in right of his wife *Elizabeth*, elder ſiſter to *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*. On the diſgrace and exile of *Mowbray*, in 1397, it probably was reſumed by the crown; and granted again to *William Beauchamp* lord of *Abergavenny*, who married the other ſiſter; and by the marriage of his grand-daughter, ſole heireſs of *Richard Beauchamp* earl of *Worceſter*, with *Edward Nevil* (afterwards lord *Abergavenny*) was conveyed into that family, in the reign of *Henry* VI *.

The next poſſeſſor which occurs to me, is the unfortunate Sir *William Stanley*, who, as *Leland* ſays, 'repayred it welle.' After his ungrateful execution, it became forfeited to his rapacious maſter; and, as I conjecture, was beſtowed, in 1534, along with *Holt Caſtle* (another of Sir *William*'s caſtles) by *Henry* VIII. on his natural ſon *Henry Fitz-roy* duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet* †. By his early death, it reverted again to the crown.

In the following reign, I imagine it to have been granted to *Thomas* lord *Seymour*, brother to the protector *Somerſet*; for I find him in poſſeſſion of *Holt* ‡, to which it was an appendage.

ELIZABETH granted it, with the ſame lordſhips, to her worthleſs favourite *Dudley* earl of *Leiceſter*. On his death, *Chirk Caſtle* became the property of lord St. *John* of *Bletſo*; whoſe on, in 1595, ſold it to Sir *Thomas Middleton* knight, mayor of *London* in 1614.

This exalted pile has much to boaſt of in its vaſt view into ſeventeen counties; a moſt elegant

* *Powel* 213. † *King*'s Vale-royal. 195.
‡ *Dugdale Baron.* ii. 368.

gant and varied extent! The caſtle is ſquare, and has five rounders uncommonly clumſy and heavy. Lord *Clarendon* and others ſpeak of the entire demolition of this fortreſs after its reddition to *Lambert*. Only one ſide, with three towers, were pulled down, which Sir *Thomas Middleton* lived to re-build in one year.

The chief apartments are a ſaloon, fifty-ſix feet by twenty-ſeven; and a drawing-room within a gallery, a hundred feet by twenty-two, filled with portraits. Among them are thoſe of the duke of *Ormond*, and his ſon lord *Oſſory*; the moſt virtuous characters, and the greateſt ornaments of the vicious age of *Charles* II. admired, revered, unimitated. *Oſſory* died before his father; who bore his loſs with the firmneſs of a *Roman*, founded on the certain hopes of a Chriſtian. I can ſcarcely ſay whether he paſſed a finer eulogy on his ſon, or ſatyr on the times, by declaring, *he would not change his dead ſon for any living one in* EUROPE.

LORD keeper Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, keeper of the great ſeals, in his robes, and with lank hair. He preſided over two courts of juſtice with the moſt amiable character; and loſt the ſeals for his refuſal, in 1672, to affix them to the king's inſidious declaration of liberty of conſcience.

LADY BRIDGEMAN, ſecond wife to ſir *Orlando*, and mother to *Charlotte* wife to Sir *Thomas Middleton*.

Sir THOMAS MIDDLETON in armour; grey-beard, and long black hair. The ſame gentleman who is mentioned in the account of the tombs.

His daughter, counteſs of *Warwick*, dowager

to

to *Edward Rith* earl of *Warwick*, and afterwards wife to Mr. *Addiſon*, and the reputed cauſe of his intemperance.

The uſual appertenance to antient caſtles, the dungeon, muſt not be forgotten. The deſcent is by forty-two ſteps; but, according to the laudable uſage of its preſent lord, the captives endure but a ſhort and eaſy confinement; and even that paſſes imperceptibly, amidſt the good cheer and generous liquors beſtowed on them by the kind warder, to whoſe cuſtody they are committed.

Barbarous Cuſtom.

Re-paſſing through the caſtle-gate, I recollect a barbarous privilege, retained longer in this country than in any other part of *Britain*, that of exempting from capital puniſhment even the moſt atrocious aſſaſſin, by payment of a certain fine. This was practiſed by the lord marchers of theſe parts in the fifteenth century; and continued in *Mowddwy* in *Merioneth-ſhire* till it was aboliſhed in the 27th of *Henry* VIII *.

This cuſtom was derived from the antient *Germans*, who accepted a fine of cattle as a compenſation for murder; which ſatisfied the relations, and was not detrimental to the public, which could not fail being injured by the extenſion of private revenge †.

Were-Geld.

The *Saxons* continued this cuſtom under the name of *Weregeld*; and accordingly ſet a price on every rank, from the king to the peaſant ‡. The head of the king was valued at thirty thouſand *thrymſes*, or 4,500 *l.*; half to be paid to his relations, and half to the kingdom for the loſs it had ſuſtained: that of a countryman was eſteemed at two hundred and ſixty-ſix, or 39*l.* 18*s.*

* *Gwydir* family, 107. † *Tacitus* de mor. Germ. c. 2. ‡ *Wilkins's Leges Sax.* 71.

The *Were geld* of a *Welſhman* was very low; for, unleſs he had property enough to be taxed for the king's uſe, his life was not reckoned of higher price than ſeventy *thrymſes*, or ten guineas. The money or fine was diſtributed, as in the time of the antient *Germans*, among the relations of the deceaſed; and oftentimes part went to the lord of the ſoil, as compenſation for his loſs.

Gwerth. The *Welſh* had in like manner their *Galanas* and *Gwerth*, of the ſame nature with the former; but our fine was uſually paid in cattle, the wealth of the country.

But the *Gwerth* was not only a compenſation for murder or homicide; but for all ſpecies of injuries. To cuckold the prince was expiated at a very high rate *; the offender was fined in a gold cup and cover, as broad as his majeſty's face, as thick as a ploughman's nail who had ploughed nine years; and a rod of gold as tall as the king, and as thick as his little finger; a hundred cows for every *cantref* he ruled over, with a white bull with different coloured ears to every hundred cows.

The recompence to a virgin who had been ſeduced is very ſingular: on complaint made that ſhe was deſerted by her lover, it was ordered by the court, ſhe was to lay hold of the tail of a bull three years old, introduced through a wicker-door, and ſhaven, and well-greaſed. Two men were to goad the beaſt: if ſhe could by dint of ſtrength retain the bull, ſhe was to have it by way of ſatisfaction; if not, ſhe got nothing but the greaſe that remained in her hands †. I fear by this, and other

* *Leges Wallicæ*, 199. † The ſame, 82.

other penalties for the ſame offence, that the crime was not held by my countrymen to be of a very deep dye.

WELSH, SAXONS, and NORMANS, had each their pecuniary atonements for leſſer injuries. A *Welſhman*, for the loſs of his finger, received one cow and twenty pence; of his noſe, ſix oxen and a hundred and twenty pence; and for being pulled by the hair, a penny for every finger, and two-pence for the thumb, the inſtruments of the inſult*. The *Saxons* had ſimilar fines†; and the *Normans*, like perſons of nice honour, provided a penalty of five *ſous* for a lug by the noſe, and ten *pour un coup au derriere*‡.

The *Scotch* had alſo ſimilar compenſations for homicides and injuries; which, in their old laws, paſſed under the name of *Cro*, *Galnes*, and *Kelchyn*§; and laſtly, the *Iriſh* had their *Eric*, or ſatisfaction for blood‖. In fact, it prevailed over all parts of *Europe*, with variations conformable to the ſeveral complections of the country.

I cannot but relate the occaſion of this digreſſion. Two villains, who had committed a moſt horrid murder¶ in the remote parts of *Wales*, had fled into this neighbourhood for protection, about the latter end of the fifteenth century. Two families at that time divided the country with their feuds; the *Kyffins* and the *Trevors*: who were ready at any time to

* *Leges Walliæ*, 278. † *Wilkins's Leges Saxon.* 44.
‡ MS. notes to my copy of *Les Couſtumes de Normandie.*
§ *Regiam majeſtatem*, 74. ‖ *Davies*, Hiſt. *Ireland*, 109.

¶ They had killed a poor parſon, at the inſtigation of their chieftain, becauſe his wife had preferred the nurſing another great man's child to his.

receive under protection, any banditti that were recommended to them by their remote friends, when their villainies rendered it unsafe for them to remain at home. The *Trevors* at this time gave *asylum* to these murderers. The friends of the person they had slain wished for revenge: being at that time in league with the *Kyffins*, a plot was laid to surprize the assassins. *Jevan ap Meredeth*, a gentleman of *Caernarvonshire*, who was most anxious to obtain redress for the injury, came over with six men, and was directed to keep himself concealed, lest the *Trevors* should be alarmed, and frustrate his design. He accordingly kept within all day, and watched all night: at length the villains fell into his hands. The *Trevors* instantly pursued him; when he was told by the *Kyffins*, that if he was overtaken, and the offenders rescued, he would lose his revenge; for, according to the custom of the country, they would be carried before the gate of *Chirk-castle*, and be instantly cleared, on the payment of five pounds. This determined *Jevan* to order his followers to strike off their heads on the spot. One of them executed his order but faintly; when the criminal told him, that if he had his neck under his sword, he would *make it take a better edge* *.

I wish the cause had been better, that applause might have been given to this contempt of death; but such assassins as these could scarcely be animated with the prospect of immortality; which made their remote ancestors, inspired by the *Druid* songs, think it disgraceful to preserve a life that was so soon to return.

The

* *Gydwir* family, 107.

The ſame conſideration influenced the antient *Danes*; a warrior *fell**, *laughed, and died*. Thus was the end of the *Scandinavian* hero, *Agnerus*.

Herculè nemo illo viſus mihi fortior unquam;
Semivigil ſubſedit enim cubitoque reclinis
Ridendo excepit lethum, mortemque cachinno
Sprevit: et *Elyſium* gaudens ſucceſſit in orbem.
Magna viri virtus, quæ riſu calluit uno
Supremam celare necem, ſummumque dolorem
Corporis ac mentis læto compeſcere vultu!

SAXO GRAMM. p. 36. l. 29.

Ne'er did I yet ſuch fortitude behold!
By the ſtern king of terrors uncontrol'd
The hero fell. Upon his arm reclin'd,
With laughing extaſy his breath reſign'd.
Th' *Elyſian* fields juſt op'ning to his view,
To *Odin*'s hall with eager haſte he flew;
With joy, with triumph, he reſign'd his breath,
And ſmil'd away the agonies of death.

R. W.

On leaving the caſtle, I aſcended the front of *Ceſn Ucha*, amidſt the magnificent and flouriſhing plantations that ariſe under the direction of the preſent owner. This lofty hill extends towards *Llangollen*, and affords a proſpect uncommonly great. The diſtant view is boundleſs. One ſide impends over a moſt beautiful valley, watered by the *Dee*; diverſified with groves, and bounded towards the end by barren and naked rocks, tier above tier. Ceſn Ucha.

Deſcend

* *Bartholinus* de Contempt. mortis. p. 5.

Descend towards *Llangollen*, seated on the river, environed by lofty mountains. On gaining the bottom, I made a little deviation to the left, to visit *Pengwern*, or *Llys Pengwern*, a seat of *Tudor Trevor* earl of *Hereford* about the year 924, and of his second son *Iduddocca*, from whom the *Mostyns* are lineally descended. It is still possessed by Sir *Roger*, the *Pen Cenedl* of his name.

Pengwern. Tudor Trevor.

Little remains of the old house, excepting a narrow, vaulted room, whose roof is formed of strong ribs of stone, covered with narrow flags laid over them like planks. The room above seems to have been covered in the same manner. The family resided here for about four hundred years, till its acquisition of *Mostyn*, by the marriage of the heiress, as before related.

LLANGOLLEN is a small and poor town, seated in a most romantic spot, near a pretty common watered by the *Dee*, which, emblematic of its country, runs with great passion through the valley. The mountains soar to a great height above their wooded bases; and one, whose summit is crowned with the antient castle *Brân*, is uncommonly grand.

Llangollen.

I know no place in *North Wales*, where the refined lover of picturesque scenes, the sentimental, or the romantic, can give a fuller indulgence to his inclination. No place abounds more with various rides or solemn walks. From this central spot, he may (as I have done) visit the seat of *Owen Glyndwr*, and the fine vallies of the *Dee*, to its source beyond the great *Llyntegid:* or pass the mountains to the fertile vale of *Clwyd*; or make the tour of *Wrexham*; or visit the places which I have just left.

Among

Among the walks on the banks of the *Dee*, the venerable remains of the neighbouring abby, and the arduous aſcent of *Caſtell Dinas Brân*, are ſo engaging, that I believe no traveller of taſte will think a repetition of them tedious.

The church of *Llangollen* is dedicated to St. *Collen ap Gwynnawg, ap Clydawg, ap Cawrda, ap Caradog Freichfras, ap Llyr Merim, ap Einion Yrth, ap Cunedda Wledig*, by *Ethni Wyddeles*, daughter to *Maelgwch* lord of *Cwl* in the kingdom of *Ireland*; which ſaint was buried here; and has left behind him a legend worthy of the *Alcoran* itſelf. Church.

The bridge, which was founded by the firſt *John Trevor* biſhop of St. *Aſaph* *, who died in 1357, is one of the *Tri Thlws Cymru*, or three beauties of *Wales*: but more remarkable for its ſituation than ſtructure. It conſiſts of five arches; whoſe wideſt does not exceed twenty-eight feet in diameter. The river uſually runs under only one, where it has formed a black chaſm of vaſt depth, into which the water pours with great fury, from a high broken ledge, formed in the ſmooth and ſolid rock, which compoſes the whole bed of the river. The view through the arches, either upwards or downwards, is extremely picturеſque. Bridge.

Near the foot of the bridge, oppoſite to the town, begins the aſcent to *Caſtel Dinas Brân*, whoſe remains nearly cover the ſummit of a vaſt conoid hill, ſteeply ſloped on every ſide. The form is oblong: the materials the coarſe ſtone of the country, with here and there a few free-ſtone mouldings. The ſide, which is Caſtell Dinas Bran.

* *Willis*'s St. *Aſaph*, 52. 285.

is leſs ſteep, defended by deep trenches, cut through the ſolid rock. This was one of our primitive *Welſh* caſtles. The founder is unknown. I dare not attribute its origin and name to *Brennus* king of the *Gauls*, who beſieged the capital; and is fabled to have come into theſe parts to fight with his brother *Belinus*: nor yet do I derive it from *Bryn*, a hill, nor *Bran*, a crow; but from the mountain river *Brân*, that runs down its ſide.

It had been the chief ſeat of the lords of *Jâl* or *Yale*; and probably was founded by one of them. In the reign of *Henry* III. it was the retreat of *Gryffdd ap Madog*, who traiterouſly ſiding with the *Engliſh* againſt his countrymen, was obliged to ſecure himſelf in this aërial faſtneſs.

On the death of *Gryffdd*, *Edward* I. ungratefully beſtowed on *John* earl *Warren*, the wardſhip of the eldeſt ſon of his old partizan; as he did that of the ſecond on *Roger Mortimer*. Both the guardians underſtood the meaning of the favour; and accordingly made away with the poor children, and received full poſſeſſion of their eſtates *, as before related. From the *Warrens* it paſſed by marriage to the *Fitzalans*, and followed the ſucceſſion of the lords of *Bromfield*.

The time of its ruin is unknown. *Leland* ſpeaks of it as a demoliſhed place; and adds, that an eagle built annually in the neighbouring rocks; that a perſon was wont to be lowered down in a baſket to take the young; and was obliged to have another baſket over his head, to ſave him from the fury of the old birds.

In

* *Rotuli Walliæ*, 81.

In 1390, this caſtle was inhabited by a celebrated beauty, deſcended from the houſe of *Tudor Trevor*, and whoſe father probably held the caſtle under the earls of *Arundel*. The name of the lady was *Myfanwy Vechan*; ſhe made a conqueſt of *Howel ap Einion Lygliw*, a celebrated bard, who compoſed the following ode, addreſſed to her; which an ingenious friend was pleaſed to favour me with in an *Engliſh* dreſs. Myfanwy Vechan.

NEUD wyf ddihunwyf, hoen Creirwy hoywdeg,
A'm hudodd, &c.

Sorrowing I ſtrike the plaintive ſtring;
Deign, cruel maid, to hear me ſing;
And let my ſong thy pride controul,
Divine inchantreſs of my ſoul!
Sure *Creirwy*'s charms muſt yield to thine,
And *Garwy*'s * ſufferings to mine.
Far from *Myfanwy*'s marble tow'rs,
I paſs my ſolitary hours.
O thou that ſhineſt like the ſky,
Behold thy faithful *Howel* die!
In golden verſe, in flowery lays,
Sweetly I ſang *Myfanwy*'s praiſe;
Still the diſdainful, haughty fair,
Laughs at my pain, and my deſpair.

* This knight and lady ſeem to have been the ſame with *Syr Gareth* and *Damoyſel Lynet*, celebrated in the viith book of the Storye of the moſt worthy kynge *Arthur*. Sir *Gareth* loved and was beloved by the fair *Lyonet*, ſiſter to *Lynet*. Their paſſion exceeded the bounds of diſcretion; but *Lynet*, to ſave their honour, by enchantment prevents their loves, till they are joined together in holy matrimony.

What

What tho' thine eyes, as black as ſloes,
Vie with the arches of thy brows;
Muſt thy deſponding lover die,
Slain by the glances of thine eyes?
Penſive, as *Tryſtan* *, did I ſpeed
To *Bran*, upon a ſtately ſteed:
Fondly I gaze; but hard's my doom,
Oh fairer than the cherry's bloom!
Thus at a diſtance to behold
Whom my fond arms would fain enfold.
How ſwift, on *Alban* † ſteed, I flew,
Thy dazzling countenance to view!
Though hard the ſteep aſcent to gain,
Thy ſmiles were harder to obtain,
Thy peerleſs beauties to declare
Was ſtill thy zealous lover's care,
O fairer thou, and colder too,
Than new-fall'n ſnow on *Aren*'s ‡ brow!
O, lovely flow'r of *Trevor*'s race,
Let not a cruel heart diſgrace
The beauties of that heavenly face!
Thou art my daily thought; each night
Preſents *Myfanwy* to my ſight;
And death alone can draw the dart
Which love has fixed in my heart.

* *Tryſtan* was another famous knight. His ſorrow ſeems to have aroſe from his being deſerted by a lady, who, as the hiſtory relates, forſook him for *Syr Bleoberys*.

† A *Scotch* horſe.

‡ Two lofty mountains in *Merionethſhire*. This poem is taken from the collection formed by the learned and ingenious Mr. *Evan Evans*.

Ah!

Ah! canſt thou, with ungentle eye,
Behold thy faithful *Howel* die?
For thee my verſe ſhall ever run,
Bright rival of the mid-day ſun!
Shou'dſt thou demand thy lover's eyes,
Gladly to thee I'd ſacrifice
My uſeleſs ſight, that only ſhews
The cruel author of its woes,
Refulgent in her golden bower,
As morning in her eaſtern tow'r.
Thy name, the echoing vallies round,
Thy name, a thouſand hills reſound,
Myfanwy Vechan, maid divine!
No name's ſo muſical as thine;
And every bard with rapture hung
On the ſoft muſic of my ſong.
For thee I languiſh, pine, and rave,
White as *Dwrdwy*'s curling wave.
Alas! no words can ſpeak my pain,
While thus I love, but love in vain!
Wiſdom, and Reaſon, what are they,
What all the charms of Poëſy,
Againſt the fury of thy darts,
Thou vanquiſher of human hearts?
When firſt I ſaw thee, princely maid!
In ſcarlet robes of ſtate array'd,
Thy beauties ſet my ſoul on fire,
And every motion fann'd deſire:
The more on thy ſweet form I gaz'd,
The more my frantic paſſion blaz'd.
Not half ſo fine the ſpider's thread,
That glitters on the dewy mead,
As the bright ringlets of thy hair,
Thou beauteous object of my care!

But ah! my ſighs, my tears are vain;
The cruel maid inſults my pain!
And canſt thou, without pity ſee
The victim of thy cruelty—
Pale with deſpair, and robb'd of ſleep,
Whoſe only buſineſs is to weep?—
Behold thy bard, thy poet, languiſh?
Oh! eaſe thy bard's, thy poet's anguiſh;
And for Heaven's ſake, ſome pity ſhew,
Ere to the ſhades of night I go!
O, fairer than the flowers adorning
The hawthorn in a ſummer's morning!
While life remains, I ſtill will ſing
Thy praiſe, and make the mountains ring
With fair *Myfanwy*'s tuneful name;
And from misfortune purchaſe fame.
Nor even to die ſhall I repine,
So *Howel*'s name may live with thine.

R. W.

Rhiwabon. After a ſhort repoſe, on my deſcent from the caſtle, I made an excurſion to *Rhiwabon*, a few miles from *Llangollen*. For ſome time the ride was along the ſides of the *Dee*, which watered a beautiful narrow vale. The hills at length approximate ſo nearly, as only to leave room for a moſt pictureſque paſſage, ſhaded with trees. Croſs a bridge called the *New bridge*, and aſcend for ſome ſpace, leaving on the left conſiderable pits both of coal and canal: reach the village of *Rhiwabon*, which takes its name from the *Avon*, or little river on which it lies.

The

The church is dedicated to St. *Mary*. It has been lately fitted up in a very neat manner by Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn*, who beſtowed on it an organ, and a ſmall font; the laſt, on occaſion of the chriſtening of his eldeſt ſon in 1772: is of white marble, ſupported by a tripod of diſtinguiſhed elegance. Church.

The monument to his firſt wife, lady *Harriet Somerſet*, is in fine taſte. The figure of Hope reclines on an urn, and is attended with her uſual emblem of an anchor. A ſerpent with its tail in its mouth, expreſſive of eternity, includes the inſcription on one ſide of the pedeſtal. Monuments.

As a contraſt to this excellent performance of Mr. *Nollikin*, is placed againſt the wall a great monument of *Henry Wynn* Eſq; tenth ſon of Sir *John Wynn* of *Gwydir*, who died in 1671. His attitude is that of a fanatical preacher; and his dreſs a full-buttoned coat, ſhort ſkirts, and ſquare ſhoes; a moſt unhappy ſubject for the ſculptor. On one ſide kneels Sir *John Wynn* of *Wynn-ſtay*, baronet; and on the other, *Jane* his wife, daughter to *Eyton Evans*, by whom he acquired the eſtate. He died at the age of ninety-one, in 1718; and left his fortune to the late Sir *W. W. Wynn*. He is repreſented blind: this accident (in his extreme age) is mentioned in his epitaph as a benefit, ſince his inward perceptions were improved by this bodily defect. It reminds me of two lines of *Waller*, in which the ſame idea is much better expreſſed:

The ſoul's dark cottage batter'd and decay'd
Lets in new light, thro' chinks which time hath made.

In

In the ſame chapel is an antient tomb, of the altar faſhion, with monkiſh *pleureurs* on the ſides, and angels holding ſhields of now defaced arms. On the top are recumbent two figures; an armed man with a collar of SS. and a lady lying on a cloak: at their feet a monk ſitting on it, with his head reclined on one hand.

Around the edges of the tomb is this inſcription:

Orate pro anima *Johannis ap Elis Eyton*, armigeri qui obiit viceſſimo octavo die menſis *Septembris* anno Domini 1526; et pro anima *Elizabeth. Calſley* uxoris ejus, quæ obiit xi. die menſis *Junii* anno Domini 1524; quorum animabus propicietur Deus. *Amen.*

This gentleman joined *Henry* VII. before the battle of *Boſworth*; and for his good ſervices had conſiderable grants of land in theſe parts. He was of the houſe of *Eyton* before-mentioned. His grandfather was twice married to the ſame lady; who on ſome pretence of conſanguinity, had been divorced from him after bearing him a ſon of the name of *Ellis:* but, obtaining a diſpenſation, they were re-united in form. After the ſecond marriage, were born other children. A diviſion of the eſtates was then made: *Rhiwabon* and *Watſtay* fell to the ſhare of *Ellis*; and *Eyton* to *John*, the firſt of the ſecond brood *.

On the other ſide of the altar is a noble monument to the late Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn*, whoſe virtues are ſtill freſh in the minds of his countrymen. A fall from his horſe, on *September* 26th 1749, deprived the world of a uſeful

* *Eyton* Pedigree.

ful citizen. *Ryſbrack* has preſerved his figure in a graceful attitude. The late Doctor *King* of St. *Mary*-hall thus expreſſed the qualities of his mind:

ASSERTORI LIBERTATIS PUBLICÆ.

H. S. E.

WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN *Baronettus.*

Qui ab illuſtri *Britannorum* veterum ſtirpe oriundus, majoribus ſuis ſe digniſſimum ſemper præbuit, et non modo nomine, ſed virtute et fide hominem very *Britannum*. Admodum juvenis in ſenatum electus confeſtim cunctis innotuit gravitate et judicio: Poſtquam vero et ipſe de republica cœpit diſputare, et libertatis patrocinium ac defenſionem ſuſcipere, incredibilem animi magnitudinem, atque ejus conſtantiam omnes ita ſuſpexerunt, ut, cum ſenatus princeps, tum patriæ pater meritò haberetur. Tam rectis ſtudiis et ea ſingulari bonitate fuit præditus, ut non poſſet fieri, quin maximam ſibi gratiam et venerationem compararet vir innocentiſſimus, idemque prudentiſſimus paterfamilias, continentiſſimus maritus, benigniſſimus hoſpes, optimus literarum patronus, et aſſiduus DEI et CHRISTIANÆ veritatis cultor. Ad hæc quam ſuavis et jucundus fuit in convictu! Quanta fides ejus ſermonibuts! Qualis in ore probitas et decor! Quæ menſæ reverentia! Quæ in cultu moderatio! Quæ in omni vita modeſtia, elegantia, comitas, liberalitas! Talis tantique viri immaturo interitu quam grave damnum fecit *Britannia*; quam cuncti qui ejus virtutes cognoverint (cognovit penitùs qui hæc mœrens ſcripſit) eo erepto, miſerorum omnium perfugium, bonorum omnium delicias, doctorum omnium præſidium, *Walliæ* ſuæ decus et ornamentum, et clariſſimum reipublicæ lumen ereptum et extinctum eſſe fateantur!

Obiit 26°. die *Septembris* 1749. Ætatis ſuæ 57mo

The park of *Wynn-ſtay* reaches to the village of *Rhiwabon*; and is moſt advantageouſly ſituated. The grounds well-wooded; the views diſtinct and extremely elegant; eſpecially thoſe towards the *Berwyn* mountains, and the Wynn-Stay.

the auguſt breach made into them beyond *Llangollen* by the rapid *Dee*, through the country of the *irregular and wild* GLYNDWR.

Nanty Bele. NANTY BELE, or the *Dingle of the Martin*, lies about a mile from hence, and merits a viſit from every traveller. From a rock at its extremity, is a magnificent view of the *Dee*, rolling awefully in a deep chaſm fringed with woods; at laſt terminating ſullenly in a black and ſtill pool. Towards the north is a great view of the conic mountain, and the rude fortreſs of *Dinas Brân*, riſing amidſt a fertile vale, and bounded by the barren *Alps*.

The houſe has been built at various times. The moſt antient is a gateway of wood and plaiſter, dated 1616. On a wall within the court, is this excellent diſtich, alluſive to the name of the houſe;—*Wynn ſtay*, or reſt ſatisfied with the good things Providence has ſo liberally ſhowered on you.

Cui domus eſt victuſque decens, cui patria dulcis
Sunt ſatis hæc vitæ, cætera cura, labor.

The former name of the place was *Wat-ſtay*, from its ſituation on the famous dyke; but was changed to the preſent by Sir *John Wynn*, out of reſpect to his own name. It was originally called ſimply *Rhiwabon*, and had been the reſidence of *Madog ap Gryffydd Maelor*, founder of *Vale Crucis* *.

The new part was built by the late Sir *Watkin*; is of itſelf a good houſe; yet was only part of a more extenſive deſign. It is finiſhed

* *Eyton* Pedigree.

finiſhed in that ſubſtantial yet neat manner becoming the ſeat of an honeſt *Engliſh* country gentleman; adapted to the reception of his worthy neighbours, who may experience his hoſpitality without dread of ſpoiling the frippery ornaments, becoming only the aſſembly-rooms of a town-houſe, or the *villa* of a great city. The preſent owner meditates the rebuilding of the old part; and, as he has already ſhewn ſuch good judgment in a noble room, in which ſimplicity is joined with grandeur, there is little doubt but he will preſerve a ſtyle of local propriety throughout the whole.

The preſent ſet of pictures belonging to the houſe are portraits of the families of *Wynn* and *Williams*. Here is a very fine three-quarters of the old Sir *John Wynn* of *Gwedir*, in a high hat, and with a vaſt white beard, and in the dreſs of the times of *James* I. I reſerve further mention of him till I arrive at his antient ſeat.

His ſon, Sir *John Wynn* knight, is drawn half-length; a young man, with whiſkers and a peaked beard; dark hair: great flat ruff; black veſt; white girdle, ſtuck with points; a white flowered baldric. Sir *John* died on his travels, at *Lucca*, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Richard*. A moſt exquiſite head of Sir *Richard*, by *Vandyck*, is preſerved here. He was gentleman of the privy-chamber to *Charles* I. when prince of *Wales*, and attended him in the romantic journey he took into *Spain*, in 1623, to viſit his deſigned bride. Sir *Richard* drew up an admirable account of his travels, which is printed among other ſcarce tracts, by Mr. *Thomas Hearn*. On the acceſſion of *Charles* to the throne, he was appointed treaſurer to the queen; and, dying with-

out iſſue, was ſucceeded by his brother *Owen*.

A Half-length of *Henry Wynn* Eſq; another ſon of the old Sir *John*, and repreſentative of the county of *Merioneth*, in the laſt parliament of *James* I. He is painted in black hair, a great turn-over, and a letter in his hand. Here is alſo a portrait of another brother, a captain of a man of war, in the ſame dreſs: both of them good performances.

Here, are, beſides, ſeveral more modern portraits; ſuch as of the two late dukes of *Beaufort* in their robes. A compoſition, with *Charles* duke of *Beaufort* leaning on the late Sir *Watkin*'s ſhoulder, looking at the horſe legacy. This figure of Sir *Watkin* is the ſtrongeſt reſemblance of him of any.

Two portraits of the late owner of this place, and his firſt lady, by *Dahl*. His full wig and dreſs give a very unjuſt idea of him. The faſhion is equally the misfortune of the artiſt and his employer.

A three-quarters length of Sir *John Wynn* baronet, with a full wig and cravat. The ſame whoſe monument we have before mentioned.

Two very fine full-lengths of *Charles* II. and his queen, cloſe this ſhort liſt.

On my return to *Rhiwabon*, I paſſed through the turnpike towards *Wrexham*. On the road I digreſſed a little to the left, to viſit a great Garthen. *Caer* in this pariſh, called the *Garthen*, i. e. *Caer-ddin*, ſeated on the ſummit of a hill commanding a moſt extenſive view around, of the fine and fertile country of *Maelor Gymraeg*, or *Bromfield*; and part of *Maelor Saeſneg*, or *Engliſh*

Engliſh Maelor, moſtly flat and wooded. This *Caer* contains about four acres of ground, protected in ſome parts by one, in others with two very ſtrong dikes and deep ditches. The inner dike is made of looſe ſtones, with a wall of vaſt thickneſs on the top. Within the area are many veſtiges of buildings, the habitations of the old poſſeſſors. It lies between the *Offa*'s and the *Wat*'s dike. Part of the turnpike-road is formed for a conſiderable way along the top of the firſt, which ſhews its prodigious thickneſs.

I purſued the tract of *Wat*'s *dike* to *Erddig*, the elegant ſeat of *Philip Yorke*, Eſq; a place where nature has been laviſh of beauties, and improved by the excellent taſte of the worthy owner. Two little vales bound his lands, watered by a pretty ſtream, and bordered with hanging woods. Along one ſide of the bank runs the dike; and at the end, between the two vales, impending over them, are ſmall but ſtrong intrenchments. One ſurrounds a work of a pentagon form; beyond which, at the very verge, is a mount that ſeems to have been a *dernier reſort* to the garriſon, in caſe they had been beaten out of the former. Theſe compoſe what is called the *Roman fort*; but there are neither coins or any thing elſe to confirm the conjecture of its having been one. A fragment of wall cemented with mortar is all that remains of this caſtelet. Erddig.

WREXHAM lies at a ſmall diſtance from this place. This town is the largeſt in *North Wales*, and the pariſh the moſt populous. It appears by the antient name to have been of *Saxon* origin: being called *Whrighteſham*. I can trace it no farther back than the time of the laſt earl Wrexham.

Warren, who had a grant of it *. *Leland* ſpeaks of it as a place where there were ſome merchants and good buckler-makers †. The pariſh is at this time noted for a manufactory of inſtruments of war; but altered for thoſe of offence, inſtead of defence. Near the place is a great foundery for cannon, under the direction of Mr. *Wilkinſon*, who ſupplies many parts of *Europe* with this *ratio ultima regum*; and in the late war between *Ruſſians* and *Turks*, furniſhed both parties with this ſpecies of logic.

Church. The church of *Wrexham* is the glory, not only of the place, but of *North Wales*; being a magnificent pile, erected in the time of *Henry* VII. The date on the ſteeple is 1506. The inſide of the church is very ſpacious; and conſiſts of a nave, two ailes, and a chancel. Above the pillars is abundance of groteſque carving, in ridicule of the regular clergy, and the female religious, abbeſſes and nuns; and over the arches of the nave, are many of the arms of the old *Britiſh* and *Saxon* princes. The

Tombs. tombs are numerous. The moſt antient is of a knight all armed: at his feet is a dog, and beyond that a dragon, whoſe tail terminates in a ſerpent's head. On his ſhield is a lion rampant. Around is an inſcription; but all I could make out was *Hic jacet* * * * * * * * * * * *ap Howel* ‡. This has been dug up, and is now reared againſt the ſteeple.

That of *Hugh Bellot* vicar of *Gresford*, and afterwards biſhop of *Bangor* and of *Cheſter*, is the next. He lies in his robes recumbent, near the altar. It was his requeſt to be interred in

* *Dugdale Baron.* i. 82. † *Itin. v.* 34.

‡ The letters are REH. (or R.) EVEHIRE.

in the pariſh where he died. His death happened at *Berſe*, near this town, in 1596. His funeral was celebrated at *Cheſter*, and his body depoſited here.

Almoſt oppoſite to the prelate is a magnificent monument, in memory of Mrs. *Mary Middleton* of *Chirk Caſtle* *. She is repreſented riſing out of her tomb in all the fulneſs of youth and beauty. She died a very withered old woman; but I like the thought of the ſculptor, alluſive to the ſublime paſſage in the burial-ſerſervice: *The trumpet ſhall ſound, and the dead ſhall be raiſed incorruptible, and we ſhall be changed.* Above is a ſhattered pyramid, and what might have been well excuſed, the groſs repreſentation of the angelic beings ſounding the awakening call.

In a corner of one aile is a ſmall but elegant monument of the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Middleton*, and his wife *Arabella Hacker*, by *Roubiliac*. Their faces are in profile on a medallion, with a curtain lightly hanging on one ſide.

Among the epitaphs are ſome to every taſte. That to a worthy uſher, my earlieſt inſtructor, in the ſchool of this town, merits preſervation.

Febr. 28, 1743, obiit
Rev. GULIEL. LEWIS,
Vir eruditus, affabilis et benevolus,
Qui nil turpe vel in ſe admiſit
Vel fovit in aliis.

That

* She died *April* 8th 1747, aged 59.

That in the church-yard, on *Elihu Yale* of *Plas Gronow* Eſq; expreſſes an uncommon variety of fortune *:

Born in *America*, in *Europe* bred,
In *Africa* travell'd, and in *Aſia* wed,
Where long he liv'd and thriv'd; at *London* dead.
Much good, ſome ill, he did; ſo hope all's even,
And that his ſoul thro' mercy's gone to heaven.
You that ſurvive, and read, take care
For this moſt certain exit to prepare:
For only the actions of the juſt,
Smell ſweet and bloſſom in the duſt.

Of the following, the firſt is ſimple; the ſecond, what the Spectator calls light, but nervous; and the third informs you, that the deceaſed had lived, but not that he died.

Here lies a churchwarden,
A choyce flower in that garden,
Joſeph Critchley by name,
Who lived in good fame:
Being gone to his reſt,
Without doubt he is bleſt.

Died 10th of *March* 167¾.

Here lies interr'd beneath theſe ſtones,
The beard, the fleſh, and eke the bones,
Of *Wrexham* clerk, old *Daniel Jones*. 1668.

Here

* He was interred *July* 22d, 1721. He beſtowed on the church the altar-piece, with the picture of the inſtitution of the ſacrament, which he brought from *Rome*; alſo the picture of king *David*.

Here lies *John Shore*,
I ſay no more,
Who was alive
In ſixty-five. *October* 9th.

On the outſide of the church is great variety of ludicrous and groſs ſculpture. The ſteeple is a fine tower, richly ornamented on three ſides with rows of ſaints placed in rich gothic niches. Among them is St. *Giles*, the patron ſaint of the church, with the hind which miraculouſly nouriſhed him in the deſert. At each corner is a light turret with a winding ſtaircaſe, twenty-four feet high: the whole height of the ſteeple is a hundred and thirty-five feet. Steeple.

Two caſualties are recorded to have befallen this building. The ſteeple was blown down on St. *Catharine*'s day, 1331; and the church was burnt about the year 1457. In order to rebuild it, an indulgence of forty days, for five years, was granted to every contributor to ſo pious a work.

The church is a vicarage, formerly an impropriation, belonging to the abbey of *Valle Crucis*; but on a diſpute between *Anian* the ſecond, biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, was reſtored to the ſee *. This great cure is aſſiſted by two chapels; *Minera*, or *Mwyn glawdd*, the *Mine upon the ditch*, from that of *Offa* running by it; this is a rich mineral tract, in the mountainous part of the pariſh. The other chapel is that of *Berſe*, or *Berſham*, a recent foundation.

The

* See the account of *Valle Crucis*, in the further progreſs of this work.

The free-ſchool is endowed with ten pounds a year, paid by the mayor of *Cheſter*, being the bequeſt of *Valentine Broughton*, alderman of that city, for the inſtruction of twelve boys.

Mines. The weſtern part of this pariſh is hilly and mineral. Part of the mines on the waſte are the property of lord *Groſvenour*, and ſome belong to the corporation of *Cheſter*. *Brombrough*, another townſhip on the heights, produces coal. In this place the inhabitants of *Holt* had, by the charter granted to them in 1410, by *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*, the liberty of digging for turf and coals. The far greater part of the pariſh is either flat, or compoſed of gentle riſings, extremely fertile and pleaſant, inhabited by a numerous gentry, who ſtill preſerve the character left of their predeceſſors, by honeſt *Churchyard*, the ſimple ſwan of the reign of *Elizabeth*.

They are the joye and gladneſſe of the poore,
That dayly feede the hungrie at their doore:
In any ſoyle where gentlemen are found,
Some houſe is kept, and bountie doth abound.

From *Wrexham* I made an excurſing to *Greſford*, and on my road called at *Acton*, the ſeat of my good friend *Ellis Yonge* Eſq. This place was formerly the property of the *Jefferies*, a race that, after running uncontaminated from an antient ſtock, had the diſgrace of producing in the laſt century *George Jefferies*, chancellor of *England*; a man of firſt-rate abilities in his profeſſion, but of a heart ſubſervient to the worſt of actions. His portrait is a fine full-length, in the robes of his office, painted by

Acton.

Chancellor Jefferies.

Sir

Sir *Godfrey Kneller* *. *Charles* II. ſat to this great painter; who ſurvived to draw *George* I. and to receive from him the dignity of baronet. *Jefferies* was ſixth ſon of *John Jefferies*, and *Margaret* daughter to Sir *Thomas Ireland* of *Beauſey*, near *Warrington*. Here is preſerved a good portrait of the old gentleman, in black, ſitting: it was drawn in the 82d year of his age, in 1690. *George* had the common ſchool education of the country, from which he was removed to that of *Weſtminſter*. He never had an academic education, but was placed immediately in the inner temple, where he was chiefly ſupported by his grand-mother.

He was never regularly called to the bar. The accident of the plague in the neighbourhood of *London* firſt introduced him into his profeſſion; for, in 1666, he put on a law-gown, and pleading at the *Kingſton* aſſizes, where few counſel choſe to attend, he from that time acted without any notice being taken of his obtruſion. About this time, he made clandeſtine addreſſes to the daughter of a wealthy merchant; in which he was aſſiſted by a young lady, and daughter of a clergyman. The affair was diſcovered, and the confidante turned out of doors. *Jefferies*, with a generoſity unknown to him in his proſperous days, took pity and married her. She proved an excellent wife, and lived to ſee him lord chief juſtice of *England*. On her death he married the widow of Mr. *Jones* of *Montgomeryſhire*, and daughter to Sir *Thomas Blodworth*.

His

* Here is another fine full length of his brother Sir *Thomas*, in a full wig and long cloak, with the croſs of ſome religious order.

His first preferment from the court was that of a *Welsh* judge. In 1680, he was made chief justice of *Chester*. After this, he rose with great rapidity; and, as is well known, fell as suddenly. His conduct, as chancellor, was upright and able; as a politician, unrestrained by any principle; devoted to the worst measures of an infatuated court. He was extremely given to the bottle; and paid so little respect to his character, that one day having drank to excess with the lord treasurer and others, they were going to strip, and get upon a sign-post to drink the king's health, had not they been prevented *. He died soon after his commitment, either from hard-drinking or a broken heart, and so was preserved from the infamy of public execution.

Gresford. GRESFORD or *Croes-ffordd, the road of the cross*, lies about two miles further. The church is seated on the brow of a lofty eminence, over a beautiful little valley, whose ends opens into the vast expanse of the vale royal of *Cheshire*; and exhibits a view of uncommon elegance.

Church. The church is extremely handsome; but less ornamented than that of *Wrexham*, though built in the same reign. On the top of the tower are images of the apostles. On one side, in a niche, is another of *Henry* VII. The neat reparation of the inside, is owing to the direction and excellent judgment of the reverend Mr. *Newcome*, the present vicar.

Here

* *Reresby's* Memoirs, 231.

Here are two antient monuments; one, much hid by a pew, a flat ſtone, with a ſhield and other ſculpture. The arms on the ſhield are three mullets on a bend. Theſe ſhew the deceaſed to have been one of the later poſterity of *Ithel ap Ednyfed*, whoſe father had the townſhips of *Gresford* and *Allington* beſtowed on him for ſervices done to *Bleddyn ap Cynvyn*, in the wars againſt the *Engliſh*. *Ithel* inherited alſo *Lleprog Vawr*, *Lleprog Vechan*, and *Trefnant* in *Englefield*. Many of his offſpring were buried here †. Tombs.

In the north aile is a tombe of a warrior armed in mail. On his ſhield is a lion rampant; and round the verge, *Hic jacet* MADOC AP LLEWELYN AP GRUFF. He was of *Eyton*, *Erliſham*, and *Rhiwabon*. He was buried on St. *Matthias*'s day, 1331.

Here are, beſides, ſome mural monuments of the *Trevors* of *Trevalyn*. The firſt is of *John Trevor*, Eſq; placed in armour, in a reclining poſture, with an inſcription in *Welſh* on a tablet, concealing half his body. It ſignifies, that he died in *London* in *June* 1589; and that his ſon, Sir *Richard*, cauſed his bones to be removed to this place. The Trevors.

Sir RICHARD erected his own monument in 1638, in the 80th year of his age, repreſenting himſelf in armour kneeling: and his wife *Catherine*, daughter of *Robert Puleſton* Eſq; of *Emral*, by him. The inſcription informs us, that it was chiefly in memory of his lady, that he cauſed this memorial to be erected. He ſerved

* *Saliſbury* Pedigree, iii. 6.

ſerved many years in the *Iriſh* wars; was governor of *Newry*, and the counties of *Down* and *Armagh*; council of the marches, and vice admiral of *North Wales*; and lived (as he tells us) to ſee his children's children's children. There is another monument to his lady, who is placed kneeling with her five daughters.

At their neighbouring ſeat of *Trevalyn*, is a ſingular portrait of Sir *Richard*, dreſſed in black. Above hang his arms, with the words *So then:* beneath are ſome medicines, and *Now thus:* alluſive to his former and preſent ſtate.

The Rofts.

At the extremity of the lofty ſlope that impends over the plains, and affords an almoſt boundleſs view to the north and north-eaſt, is a peninſulated field, called the *Rofts*, that formed, in old times, a ſtrong *Britiſh* poſt. It is defended by three ſtrong dikes and foſſes, cut acroſs the narrow iſthmus that connects it to higher parts of the pariſh. On two ſides it is inacceſſible by reaſon of the ſteepneſs of the declivity; and on the fourth, which fronts *Cheſhire*, and is of eaſier aſcent, had been protected by two or three other ditches, now almoſt levelled by the plough. In one corner of this poſt is a vaſt exploratory mount. This ſeems to have been an important ſtation; an outguard to our country againſt invaders; which made an artificial elevation quite neceſſary, in order to obſerve the motions of an enemy.

It lies, I think, in the manor of *Merford*; which, with that of *Horſely*, was, by act of parliament, in the reign of *Henry* VIII. flung into the county of *Flint*; but whether they extend to

to the parish of *Hope* in *Flintshire*, or are surrounded by *Denbighshire*, I am uncertain.

From hence I returned by the same road to my quarters at *Llangollen*.

In the morning I took a ride to view the country that lies to the south-west. The road lay on the same side of the river with the town: I kept ascending a hill cloathed in many parts with birch. From the summit was a most elegant view; one way, of the antient castle on its conic hill, and the mural ranges of the *Gliſſeg* rocks in various tiers behind. Beneath, on the other side, lies the house of *Llandyſilio*, the seat of *Thomas Jones* Esq; in a pretty vale, watered by the *Dee*, that winds along the bottom, after passing between two rocky promontories, that barely give it a channel. Llandyſilio.

The church is dedicated to St. *Tyſilio*, prince of *Powys*, son of *Brochwel Yſgithrog*, by *Arddun Benaſgell*, or *Arddun* with the winged head, daughter of St. *Pabo poſt Prydain*, or the pillar of *Britain*. This parish is in the hundred of YALE; which contains, besides those of *Bryn Eglwys*, *Llandegla*, *Llanarwon*, and *Llanverres*. Church. Yale.

After a descent of no great length, enter

MERIONETHSHIRE,

into that portion for ever to be distinguished in the *Welsh* annals, on account of the hero it produced, who made such a figure in the beginning of the fifteenth century. This tract was

was antiently a comot in the kingdom of *Mathraval*, or *Powys*; and ſtill retains its former title *Glyn-dwrdwy*, or the valley of the *Dee*. It extends about ſeven miles in length; is narrow, fertile in graſs, bounded by lofty hills, often cloathed with trees; and lies in the pariſhes of *Llangollen*, *Llandyſilio*, *Llanſantffraid*, and *Corwen*.

Glyn-dwrdwy.

This tract once belonged to the lords of *Dinas Brân*. After the murder of the two eldeſt ſons of *Gryffydd ap Madoc* the laſt lord, the earl *Warren*, who had uſurped the property of the eldeſt, appears to have been ſeized with remorſe for his crime; and, inſtead of removing the other object of his fear, as a *Machiavelian* politician would have done, procured from *Edward* I. a grant of this tract to *Gryffyd Vychan*, third brother to the unhappy youth, dated from *Rhudland* the 12th of *February* 1282 *.

OWEN was fourth in deſcent from this nobleman. His father's name was *Gryffydd Vychan*; his mother's, *Elena*, of royal blood, and from whom he afterwards claimed the throne of *Wales*. She was eldeſt daughter of *Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen*, by his wife *Elinor Goch*, or *Elinor* the red, daughter and heireſs to *Catherine*, one of the daughters of *Lewelyn* laſt prince of *Wales*, and wife to *Philip ap Ivor* of *Iſcoed*. She probably was married before the death of her father, otherwiſe the jealouſy of *Edward*, about the ſucceſſion to the principality, would have made her ſhare the fate of her ſiſter *Gwenllian*; who, perforce, took the veil in the convent of *Shafteſbury*.

O. Glyndwr, his Deſcent.

* *Rotuli Walliæ*, 87.

Writers vary in the account of the day of the birth of *Glyndwr*. One manuſcript fixes it on the 28th of *May*, 1354: that preſerved by *Lewis Owen*, places the event five years earlier; for the year 1349, ſays he, was diſtinguiſhed by the firſt appearance of the peſtilence in *Wales*, and by the birth of *Owen Glyndwr*. Birth.

Heroes are often introduced into the world by ſome ſtrange phœnomenon, that preſages their future celebrity, or the happineſs or miſery they were to bring upon their country; but it is probable that their courſe is finiſhed, before ſuperſtition invents the tale, and adopts it to their actions. *Holinſhed* relates one on this occaſion, correſpondent to a blemiſh we could wish to clear the character of our countryman from. His cruelty was foretold at his nativity, by the marvellous accident of his father's horſes being found ſtanding that night in the ſtables up to their bellies in blood. *Shakeſpear* omits this circumſtance; but, in his ſpirited character of *Owen*, puts theſe beautiful lines into his mouth, finely deſcriptive of the vain-glory and ſuperſtition of the old *Britiſh* chieftain: Omens.

At *my* birth
The front of heav'n was full of fiery ſhapes;
The goats ran from the mountains, and the herds
Were ſtrangely clamorous in the frighted fields:
Theſe ſigns have mark'd me extraordinary,
And all the courſes of my life do ſhew,
I am not in the roll of common men.

His

His bard, *Jolo Goch*, gives him incenſe of a far ſuperior kind: and I fear the poet's ardour to celebrate his patron, carried him to the borders of blaſphemy; for, in his *Cowydd y Seren*, or *Poem of the ſtar*, he deſcribes three that appeared to mark three great events; for, to the ſtar which foretold the birth of our SAVIOUR, he adds another which preſaged that of *Arthur*; and a third which marked the great deeds of *Glyndwr*, in 1402, the meridian of his glory *.

He appears to have had a liberal education. His ambition overcame the prejudices of his country againſt the *Engliſh*; and determined him to ſeek preferment among them. He entered himſelf in the inns of court, and ſtudied there, till he became a barriſter. It is probable, that he quitted his profeſſion; for we find, that he was appointed *ſcutiger*, or ſquire of the body to *Richard* II. whoſe fortunes he followed to the laſt; was taken with him in *Flint* caſtle; and, when the king's houſhold was diſſolved, retired, with full reſentment of his ſovereign's wrongs, to his patrimony in *Wales*. I judge that he was knighted before the depoſal of his maſter; for I find him among the witneſſes in the celebrated cauſe between Sir *Richard le Scrope* and Sir *Robert le Groſvenour*, about a coat of arms, under the title of Sir *Owen de Glendore*. His brother alſo appears there by the name of *Tudor de Glendore*. The cauſe laſted three years, and ended in 1389 †.

JOLO

* *Cowydd y Seren*, a Ymddangoſes mis mawrth, 1402. B. A.

† *Collins*'s Peerage, vii. 507.

JOLO GOCH, the celebrated poet of this period, reſided here for ſome time. He came on a preſſing invitation from *Owen*; who, knowing the mighty influence of this order of men over the antient *Britons*, made his houſe, as *Jolo* ſays, a ſanctuary for bards. He made them the inſtruments of his future operations, and to prepare the minds of the people againſt the time of his intended inſurrection. From *Jolo* I borrow the deſcription of the ſeat of the chieftain, when it was in full ſplendor. He compares it, in point of magnificence, to *Weſtminſter* abby; and informs us, that it had a gate-houſe, and was ſurrounded with a moat. His houſe.

That within were nine halls, each furniſhed with a wardrobe; I imagine, filled with the cloaths of his retainers, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days.

Near the houſe, on a verdant bank, was a wooden houſe, ſupported on poſts, and covered with tiles. It contained four apartments, each ſubdivided into two, deſigned to lodge the gueſts.

Here was a church in form of a croſs, with ſeveral chapels.

The ſeat was ſurrounded with every conveniency for good living; and every ſupport to hoſpitality: a park, warren, and pigeon-houſe; a mill, orchard, and vineyard; and fiſh-pond, filled with pike and gwyniads. The laſt introduced from the lake at *Bala*.

A heronry, which was a concomitant to the ſeat of every great man, ſupplied him and his gueſts with game for the ſport of falconry.

A place ſtill remains, that retains the name of his park. It extends about a mile or two beyond the ſite of his houſe, on the left-hand of the valley.

The veſtiges of the houſe are ſmall. The moat is very apparent: the meaſurement of the area it incloſed, is forty-ſix paces by twenty-ſix. There is the appearance of a wall on the outſide, which was continued to the top of a great mount, on which ſtood the wooden-houſe. On the other ſide, but at a greater diſtance, I had paſſed by another mount of the ſame kind, called *Hèndom*; which probably might have had formerly a building ſimilar to that deſcribed by the bard. This, perhaps, was the ſtation of a guard, to prevent ſurprize or inſult from the *Engliſh* ſide. He had much to apprehend from the neighbouring fortreſs of *Dinas Brân*, and its appendages, poſſeſſed by the earl of *Arundel*, a ſtrenuous ſupporter of the houſe of *Lancaſter*.

The bard ſpeaks feelingly of the wine, the ale, the braget, and the white-bread; nor does he forget the kitchen, nor the important officer the cook; whoſe life (when in the royal ſervice) was eſtimated by our laws at a hundred and twenty-ſix cows *. Such was the hoſpitality of this houſe, that the place of porter was uſeleſs; nor were locks or bolts known. To ſum up all, no one could be hungry or dry in *Sycharth*, the name of the place.

The

* *Leges Wallicæ.*

The bard pays all due praiſe to the lady of the houſe, and her offſpring.

A *Gwraig* orau o'er gwragedd, Wife.
Gwynn y myd, o'i Gwin a'i medd.
Merch eglur, Llin marchawglyw,
Urddol, hael, o reiol ryw.
A'i blant, a ddeuant bob ddau
Nythod têg o bennaethau!

His wife, the beſt of wives!
Happy am I in her wine and metheglin.
Eminent woman of a knightly family.
Honourable, beneficent, noble.
His children come in pairs;
A beautiful neſt of chieftains.

The lady whom he thus celebrates, was *Margaret* daughter of Sir *David Hanmer* of *Hanmer*, in the county of *Flint*, one of the juſtices of the king's bench, by appointment of *Richard* II. in 1383, and knighted by him in 1387 *. Her nuptials were previous to her father's promotion; for it is certain that ſome of the daughters were married, and his ſons Children. grown to men's eſtate, before *Glyndwr* appeared in arms in the year 1400. They followed him into the field, and commanded under him. It is probable that moſt of them fell glorioufly in battle. Mr. *Brown Willis*, indeed, ſays, that on their father's death they fled into *Ireland*; that one of them ſettled in *Dublin*, and

* *Collins's* Baronet. 1720. ii. p. 235.

took the name of *Baulf* *, or the ſtrong; and was anceſtor to a reputable family in that city.

He matched his daughters into conſiderable families.

His eldeſt, *Iſabel*, to *Adam* or *Adda ap Jorwerth Ddu*.

His ſecond, *Elizabeth*, or as ſome ſay *Alicia*, was married to Sir *John Scudamore* of *Ewyas*, and *Holm-Lacy*, in the county of *Hereford*.

JONET, to *John Crofts* of *Croft Caſtle*, in the ſame county.

Lord GREY of *Ruthyn* took, through neceſſity, *Jane*, after he was made priſoner by her father, who forced him into the alliance.

His youngeſt daughter, *Margaret*, was married to *Roger Monnington* of *Monnington*, in the county of *Hereford*, towards the borders of *Brecknockſhire*. The eſtate ſtill continues in the name and family. I have had the pleaſure of ſeeing at my houſe two ladies, owners of the place, direct deſcendants from the daughter of *Glyndwr*.

His illegitimate iſſue were, his ſon *Jevan*; a daughter, married into the houſe of *Gwernan*; another, named *Myfanwy*, to *Llewelyn ap Adda* of *Trefor*; and *Gwenllian*, to *Philip ap Rys* of St. *Harmon* in *Radnorſhire*.

LEWIS GLYN COTHI, a bard of the time of *Henry* VI. ſpeaks in high terms of her father *Glyndwr*:

Ei Thad oedd dwyſawg eadarn,
A holl *Gymru* fu'n ei farn.

'Her father was a potent prince. All *Wales* was in his 'council.'

I muſt

* Hiſt. of St. *Aſaph* Cathedral, 61.

I must not omit notice of a mistake of the *English* historians, who mention the marriage of another daughter of *Glyndwr* to *Edmund* earl of *March*. This, they assert, was also effected by force, after the earl became his prisoner: but it does not appear that he ever was *Glyndwr's* captive; or that *March* had any other wife than *Anne* ‡, daughter to *Edmund* earl of *Stafford*; besides, the *Welsh* histories are totally silent on that head.

Such was the state of the domestic affairs of *Glyndwr* at the change of government in 1399. His resentment against the usurper was whetted by wrongs public and private: by the murder of the unhappy *Richard*, to whom he was strongly attached by being a personal favourite; and by the strong partiality the *Welsh* had for their late king.

In the very first year of the new reign, he experienced the frowns of the court. *Reginald* lord *Grey* of *Ruthyn*, taking advantage of the deposal of *Richard*, instantly seized on a certain common, called *Croesau*, which *Glyndwr*, in a former reign, had recovered from him by course of law. *Owen* sought justice without having recourse to violence: he laid his case before parliament; but his suit was dismissed without redress. Oppressed by Lord Grey.

This insult was aggravated by another injury. When *Henry* went on his expedition against the *Scots*, *Owen* was to have been summoned, among other barons, to attend the king with his vassals. The writ for that purpose was delivered to *Reginald* †, who designedly neglected to deliver it till the time was nearly elapsed, and

‡ *Vincent's* Discoverie, &c. 329.
† *Vita Ricardi*, ii. 171.

and it became impoſſible for him to obey. *Reginald* returned to the king, and miſrepreſented the abſence of *Owen* as an act of wilful diſobedience; and, by this piece of treachery, took poſſeſſion of all his land; and on this, under pretence of forfeiture, invaded ſuch parts of *Glyndwr*'s eſtates as lay adjacent to his own.

The danger of driving into deſperate meaſures a perſon of his intereſt, ſpirit, and abilities, was foreſeen by *John Trevor* biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, who adviſed more temperate proceedings; that *Owen* was by no means a deſpicable enemy; and that the *Welſh* would certainly be provoked into a general inſurrection. His advice was rejected, and he was told there could be no fear about ſuch a bare-footed rabble *.

Aſſerts his claim to Wales.

It does not appear that *Glyndwr*, till this period, had any ſettled deſign of flinging off the *Engliſh* yoke. Ambition now came in, and joined with his revenge. He revolved in his mind his own genealogy: he derived himſelf from the antient race of *Britiſh* princes; and, apparently laying aſide all ſenſe of private wrong, made open claim to the throne of *Wales*. To encourage his countrymen, ſtrongly attached to the prophecies of antient times, he reminded them of thoſe of *Merlin* and other ſages. His bards ſet before them the great qualities of their leader; and taught them to expect from his valour and conduct, the freedom of antient *Britons* from the galling weight of the *Saxon* yoke. His chief bard, *Gryffydd Llwyd*, after regretting his abſence, chaunts his praiſe, and predicts the ſucceſs

* *Leland*'s Collect. i. 310.

ſucceſs of the war. The *Cowydd*, or poem, begins thus in the original:

Eryr digrif afrifed
Owain, &c.

The reader will receive it agreeably paraphraſed by a bard of 1773.

1.

CAMBRIA's princely eagle, hail!
Of *Gryffydd Vychan*'s noble blood!
Thy high renown ſhall never fail,
Owain Glyndwr, great and good!
Lord of *Dwrdwy*'s fertile vale,
Warlike, high-born *Owain*, hail!
Dwrdwy, whoſe wide-ſpreading ſtreams,
Reflecting *Cynthia*'s midnight beams,
Whilom led me to thy bower;
Alas! in an unguarded hour!
For high in blood, with *Britiſh* beverage hot,
My awful diſtance I forgot;
But ſoon my generous chief forgave
The rude preſumption of his ſlave.

2.

But leave me not, illuſtrious lord!
Thy peaceful bow'r, and hoſpitable board,
Are ill exchang'd for ſcenes of war,
Tho' *Henry* calls thee from afar.
My prayers, my tears were vain;
He flew like lightning to the hoſtile plain.
While with remorſe, regret, and woe,
I ſaw the god-like hero go;

I ſaw,

I ſaw, with aching heart,
The golden beam depart.
His glorious image in my mind
Was all that *Owain* left behind.
Wild with deſpair, and woe-begone,
Thy faithful bard is left alone,
To ſigh, to weep, to groan!

3.

Thy ſweet remembrance, ever dear,
Thy name, ſtill uſher'd by a tear,
My inward anguiſh ſpeak;
How could'ſt thou, cruel *Owain*, go,
And leave the bitter ſtreams to flow
Down *Gryffydd*'s furrow'd cheek?
I heard (who has not heard thy fame?)
With extaſy I heard thy name
Loud echo'd by the trump of war,
Which ſpoke thee brave, and void of fear;
Yet of a gentle heart poſſeſs'd,
That bled within thy generous breaſt,
Wide o'er the ſanguine plain to ſee
The havock of hoſtility.

4.

Still with good omens may'ſt thou fight,
And do thy injur'd country right!
Like great *Pendragon* * ſhalt thou ſoar,
Who bade the din of battle roar,

What

* The omen alluded to was a ſtar and fiery dragon; which, according to the interpretation of *Merlin*, predicted the reign of UTHER, afterwards ſurnamed *Pen-Dragon*, from having cauſed two golden dragons to be made, one of which he preſented to the cathedral of *Wincheſter*, the other he carried along with him in his wars; or, what is more likely, wore by way of creſt on his hemlet. His ſon *Arthur* adopted the ſame. Vide *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*, 254, 257, 283.

What time his vengeful ſteel he drew
His brother's grandeur to renew,
And vindicate his wrongs;
His gallant actions ſtill are told
By youthful bards, by *Druids* old,
And grateful *Cambria*'s ſongs.

5.

On ſea, on land, thou ſtill didſt brave
The dangerous cliff and rapid wave;
Like *Urien*, who ſubdu'd the knight,
And the fell dragon put to flight.
Yon moſs-grown fount beſide;
The grim, black warrior of the flood,
The dragon, gorg'd with human blood,
The water's ſcaly pride.
Before his ſword the mighty fled:
But now he's number'd with the dead.
Oh! may his great example fire
My noble patron to aſpire
To deeds like his! impetuous fly,
And bid the *Saxon* ſquadrons die:
So ſhall thy laurel'd bard rehearſe
Thy praiſe, in never-dying verſe;
Shall ſing the proweſs of thy ſword,
Beloved and victorious lord!

6.

In future times thy honour'd name
Shall emulate brave *Urien*'s fame!
Surrounded by the numerous foe,
Well didſt thou deal th' unequal blow.
How terrible thy aſhen ſpear,
Which ſhook the braveſt heart with fear.

Yon

Yon hoſtile towers beneath!
More horrid than the lightning's glance,
Flaſh'd the red meteors from thy lance,
The harbinger of death.
Dire, and more dire, the conflict grew;
Thouſands before thy preſence flew;
While borne in thy triumphal car,
Majeſtic as the god of war,
Midſt charging hoſts unmov'd you ſtood,
Or waded thro' a ſea of blood.

7.

Immortal fame ſhall be thy meed,
Due to every glorious deed;
Which lateſt annals ſhall record,
Beloved and victorious lord!
Grace, wiſdom, valour, all are thine,
Owain Glyndwrdwy divine!
Meet emblem of a two-edg'd ſword,
Dreaded in war, in peace ador'd!
Steer thy ſwift ſhips to *Albion*'s coaſt,
Pregnant with thy martial hoaſt.
Thy robes are white as driven ſnow,
And virtue ſmiles upon thy brow:
But terrible in war thou art,
And ſwift and certain is the dart
Thou hurleſt at a *Saxon*'s heart.

8.

Loud fame has told thy gallant deeds;
In every word a *Saxon* bleeds.
Terror, and flight, together came,
Obedient to thy mighty name:
Death, in the van, with ample ſtride,
Hew'd thee a paſſage deep and wide.

Stubborn

Stubborn as ſteel, thy nervous cheſt
With more than mortal ſtrength's poſſeſs'd;
And every excellence belongs
To the bright ſubject of our ſongs.

9.

Strike then your harps, ye *Cambrian* bards;
The ſong of triumph beſt rewards
An hero's toils. Let *Henry* weep
His warriors wrapt in everlaſting ſleep;
Succeſs and victory are thine,
Owain Glyndwrdwy divine!
Dominion, honour, pleaſure, praiſe,
Attend upon thy vigorous day!
And, when thy evening ſun is ſet,
May grateful *Cambria* ne'er forget
Thy noontide blaze; but on thy tomb
Never fading laurels bloom!

He firſt appeared in arms in the ſummer of the year 1400. He naturally directed his attack againſt the lands of his enemy lord *Grey*; and immediately recovered what he had unjuſtly been diſpoſſeſſed of, during the abſence of the former. As ſoon as the news reached *Henry*, he ſent lord *Talbot* and lord *Grey* to reduce him. They arrived with ſuch ſpeed, that they ſurrounded his houſe before he had any notice; but he had the good fortune to eſcape into the woods. He immediately raiſed a powerful band of men; and, after cauſing himſelf to be proclaimed prince of *Wales*, on the 20th of *September*, ſurprized, plundered, and burnt to the ground the town of *Ruthyn*, at Appears in arms. Burns Ruthyn.

at the time a fair was held there. After which he retired to his faſtneſſes among the mountains. One, I imagine to have been the great ſtrength, ſurrounded by a vaſt rampart of ſtones, near *Corwen*, called *Caer Drewyn*.

First March of Henry againſt him.

HENRY, determined to ſuppreſs this revolt in the beginning, marched in perſon againſt *Owen*, and penetrated as far as the iſle of *Angleſea*, putting to the ſword all that reſiſted. He plundered the convent of *Llanvaes* *; ſlew ſome of the monks, and took the reſt away with him; at length ſet them at liberty, and made reſtitution to the monaſtery; but peopled it again with *Engliſh* religious. The monks of *Llanvaes* had been *Franciſcans*; an order who were firm adherents to the late prince; and who, in general, were ſuſpected of promoting the inſurrection of *Glyndwr*, and even of inviting him to invade *England*. This occaſioned a proſecution of them, and ſeveral † were executed on that account. Their intelligence with *Glyndwr* is very evident from the favour he ſhewed the order on the taking of *Cardiff*, in the year 1402; when he burnt the whole town, excepting the ſtreet inhabited by the *Franciſcans* ‡.

The king returned without effecting any material action; for, on his approach, *Owen* retired among the *Snowdon* hills ‖.

The proclamation for aſſembling the forces for this expedition, was dated on the 19th of *September*, from *Northampton*, and addreſſed to the lieutenants of *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſter*, and eight

* *Leland*'s Collect. i. 311. † Ibid. ‡ Idem, 313.
‖ *Holinſhed*, 519.

eight other counties; in which all perſons capable of bearing arms, within their juriſdiction, were directed to array themſelves, and be ready to march to ſuch place as his majeſty directed; who acquaints the lieutenants, that he ſhould lie at *Coventry* on his road to *Wales* the *Monday* following *.

Shrewſbury ſecured by Henry.

On the ſame day he iſſued out an order to the bailiffs and good people of *Shrewſbury*, to take proper ſteps to ſecure that important place; and that they oblige all the *Welſh* reſident in the town, to give ſecurity for their loyal behaviour; and in caſe of refuſal, to commit them to priſon †.

Who grants Owen's eſtates to the Earl of Somerſet;

On the eighth of *November* in the ſame year, he made a grant of all the eſtates of *Glyndwr*, in *North* and *South Wales*, to his brother *John* earl of *Somerſet* §; an act as weak as it was irritating: for *Owen* was ſo far from being in any danger of being diſpoſſeſſed of them, that at this very time he was growing more powerful by the acceſſion of new forces. It is remarkable, that his revenue in money at this period did not exceed three hundred marks; which ſhewed that his rents in kind muſt have been very conſiderable.

and opens pardon to the Welſh

But the laſt public act of this year was conciliating. The king made one endeavour to bring back the *Welſh* to their allegiance by fair means; and for that end iſſued a proclamation, on the 30th of *November*, offering to take under his protection all that would reſort to the city of *Cheſter*, and there make their ſubmiſſion to his ſon *Henry* prince of *Wales*; after which they ſhould be at liberty to return to their

Prince Henry firſt appears.

* *Rymer*'s Fœdera, viii. 159. † Idem, 160.
§ Idem, 163.

their reſpective homes*. *Henry* was at that time but twelve years of age; ſo early was he initiated into ſtate affairs; ſo early appeared thoſe ſparks of genius, which ſhone afterwards with ſuch brilliancy.

1401.

Owen augments his forces.

The firſt half of this year paſſed without any memorable action. *Owen* was buſied in augmenting his forces; he made conſiderable levies in *Wales*; and received continual addition to his ſtrength, by the great reſort of his countrymen of all orders, who had gone into *England* for the ſake of education, or to gain a livelihood by different occupations.

State of Henry's affairs at this time.

The ſtate of *Henry*'s affairs, in reſpect to the *European* monarchs, the badneſs of his title to the crown of *England*, and the repentance of ſeveral of the great men for their diſloyalty to their late prince, were circumſtances highly in favour of *Glyndwr*.

CHARLES VI. of *France*, father-in-law to the unhappy *Richard*, prepared to revenge his depoſal and murder. The confuſion of his own affairs, luckily for *Henry*, prevented the reſentment of the *French* monarch. He contented himſelf with receiving back his daughter *Iſabel*, and her *paraphernalia*: and *Henry* gladly renewed a truce with him for thirty years.

The *Scots* taking advantage of his ſituation, threatened him with invaſion. This made it dangerous for him to engage in a diſtant war, and obliged him to continue for a conſiderable time in the central parts of his dominion, to act

* *Rymer*, viii. 167.

act according to the neceſſity of events. In reſpect to the *Welſh*, he contented himſelf with iſſuing out pardons *, (at the inſtance of prince *Henry*,) to all that had appeared in arms in the counties of *Caernarvon*, *Angleſey*, and *Flint*, and the people of *Denbigh* and *Merioneth*; to the inhabitants of *Chirkland*, *Bromfield*, and *Yale*; to the hundred of *Oſweſtry*; and to thoſe of *Elleſmere* and *Whittington*; which I find were then reckoned parts of *Wales*. *Owen* himſelf, *Rice ap Tudor*, *William ap Tudor*, and all ſuch as were in actual cuſtody, or ſuch who ſhould continue in arms, were excepted. The firſt pardon was given out the 10th of *May*; the lateſt, the 5th of *June*, and, as will appear, with ſome effect.

Henry offers new pardons.

GLYNDWR's fortune and intereſt lay, as was before mentioned, both in *North* and in *South Wales*. This ſummer he marched with a hundred and twenty men of arms, and, with great policy, poſted himſelf on *Plinlimmon* hill, a lofty mountain, the limits of *Cardiganſhire* and *Montgomeryſhire*, admirably adapted for receiving ſuccours from his vaſſals and friends in each part of the principality. From hence his followers made plundering excurſions, and were the terror of all that declined eſpouſing his cauſe. The county of *Montgomery* ſuffered greatly. He ſacked the capital town †, burnt the ſuburbs of *Pool*, and ravaged all the borders. He deſtroyed the abby of *Cwm-hir* in *Radnorſhire*; took the caſtle of *Radnor*, and cauſed the whole garriſon, to the number of three-ſcore, to be beheaded on the brink of the caſtle-yard §. The provocation to this piece of cruelty does not appear.

Owen poſts himſelf on Plinlimmon.

Plunders Montgomery.

Beheads ſixty men.

The

* *Rymer*, viii. 181. 182. † *Leland Itin.* v. 4.
§ Ibid.

Surprized; The *Flemings*, inhabitants of *Roſs*, *Pembroke*, and *Cardiganſhire*, ſuffered ſo greatly from *Glyndwr*, that they determined to attempt to remove ſo troubleſome a neighbour. They aſſembled a body of fifteen hundred men, and made ſo expeditious a march, as to ſurround *Owen* and his forces, at a place called *Mynydd Hyddgant*, before he had any notice of their approach. They hemmed him in on every ſide; and, notwithſtanding he could make no retreat without great diſadvantage, he made a long and manful defence. At length, finding it impoſſible to ſubſiſt in that place, he determined to cut a paſſage through the enemy, or periſh in the attempt. He knew that neither he nor his men were to expect any mercy; ſo, actuated by deſpair, they fell furiouſly on the *Flemings*, and, after a ſtrong diſpute, flung them into great diſorder; which *Owen* taking advantage of, redoubled his attack, and at length put them to flight, leaving two hundred of their party dead on the ſpot.

yet defeats the enemy.

This victory added greatly to the reputation of *Glyndwr*. Multitudes reſorted to his ſtandard, and contributed to make him a moſt formidable enemy.

Henry's ſecond march. HENRY, alarmed at his ſucceſſes, marched a ſecond time in perſon. He entered *Wales* with a great army about the beginning of *June* *, deſtroyed the abby of *Yſtrad-Fflur* in *Cardiganſhire*, and ravaged the country; but was obliged to made a diſgraceful retreat, after his forces had ſuffered greatly by famine, and the great fatigues they continually underwent.

The

* Vita *R.* II. 174.

The monk of *Eveſham* * relates an inſtance of paternal affection, much to the honour of our country. A *Welſhman*, having made a raſh promiſe to the king to betray *Glyndwr*, refuſed afterwards to perform it; and, eagerly ſtretching out his neck to the headſman, told him to ſtrike, for that he had two ſons at that time in the ſervice of his chieftain; therefore would on no account reveal his councils, which would prove ſo penal to them.

Corrupts ſome of Owen's friends.

It is probable, that during this expedition *Henry* found means to corrupt the fidelity of ſeveral of the friends of *Glyndwr*; for we find a free pardon granted to *William ap Tudor*, (a gentleman who had been excepted in the pardon of laſt year) and to thirty-one principal perſons of the country. This is dated from *Weſtminſter* on the 8th of *July* †.

This defection ſeemed to have very little effect on the ſpirit of *Glyndwr*. He acquired new friends, and ſuch addition of ſtrength, that the king reſolved to go again in perſon againſt him. He iſſued out his orders to the lieutenants of *Devonſhire*, and one and twenty other counties, to repair with their forces to *Worceſter* § on the firſt of *October*. Our old hiſtorians are ſilent about the event of this expedition; but Mr. *Carte* ſays, that it was unfortunate as the former. Thus concluded the tranſactions of this year.

Makes a third expedition.

1402.

A comet.

This year was uſhered in with a comet, or blazing-ſtar; which the bards interpreted as an omen favourable to the cauſe of *Glyndwr*. It ſerved to infuſe ſpirit into the minds of a ſu-

* Vita *R.* ii. 174. † *Rymer*, viii. 209.
§ Ibid. 225.

perſtitious people: the firſt ſucceſs of their chieftain confirmed their belief, and gave new vigour to their actions.

Lord GREY was the firſt that felt the effects of *Owen*'s power. That nobleman, ſtrongly attached to *Henry*, and impatient of the injuries which he and his friends received from *Glyndwr*, raiſed a conſiderable army; encountered him; was defeated, and made priſoner. Hiſtorians differ about the ſcene of action. The *Welſh* lay it on the backs of the *Fyrnwy*, in the county of *Montgomery*. The *Engliſh* ſay that it was in the neighbourhood of *Ruthyn*; and that *Owen* advancing towards the caſtle with a party of men, drew his incautious rival into the field, where he fell into an ambuſh, and was taken, and carried faſt bound into confinement, amidſt the ſavage faſtneſſes of the *Snowdon* hills *. This relation ſeems probable, not only as the caſtle of *Ruthyn* was the chief ſeat of lord *Grey*, but a fortreſs of ſuch ſtrength as to baffle all attempts of *Glyndwr*, in the infancy of his inſurrection, without having recourſe to ſtratagem.

Owen defeats lord Grey.

Lord GREY remained for a long time in captivity, nor did he gain his liberty till he paid to him the vaſt ſum of ten thouſand marks. He was ſuch a perſonal favourite with the king, who, pitying the ſeverity with which he was treated, and admiring the firmneſs with which he reſiſted the offers of *Glyndwr* to make him ſwerve from his loyalty, that his majeſty iſſued out a ſpecial commiſſion, dated the 10th of *October* in this year, empowering Sir *William de Roos*, Sir *Richard de Grey*, Sir *William de Willughby*, Sir *William de Zouch*, *John Herny*, *William*

Makes him pay a great ranſom,

* Vita *Ricardi* II. 178.

William Vaus, *John Lee*, *John Longford*, *Thomas Payne*, and *John Elnſtow*, to treat with *Owen* and his council about the ranſom. It was agreed to pay ſix thouſand marks on the day of St. *Martin* * following, and give, as hoſtages for the payment of the remainder, his eldeſt ſon, and ſome other perſons. And, in order to raiſe the money, *Henry* gave licence to *Robert Braybrook* † biſhop of *London*, and two others, feoffees of divers lordſhips for lord *Grey*, to ſell the lordſhip of *Herteleigh* in *Kent*. He alſo abſolved him for ſix years from the forfeiture of two-thirds of the profits of his *Iriſh* eſtates, uſually exacted from ſuch who were non-reſident in that kingdom.

and marry one of his daughters

After this he was ſet at liberty, and he and his tenants ſuffered to enjoy their property without moleſtation. It is probable, that *Owen* engaged his lordſhip to obſerve a neutrality, as another term of redemption. Lord *Grey* ſeemed likewiſe to think it neceſſary to ſecure both his people and himſelf by an alliance with *Owen*; for no ſooner was he releaſed, than he married *Jane*, third daughter of the furious chieftain. He had no iſſue by this lady. The match was probably compulſive; at beſt, political. Some of the *Engliſh* hiſtorians pretend that he died in captivity: but that he obtained his liberty, and long ſurvived this treaty, is evident: for in 1409, he was ordered by *Henry* to his eſtates, to repel the ravages his father-in-law made on the borders. He even lived to ſerve in the *French* wars in the reign of *Henry* V. and his ſucceſſor, and died in the year 1440 ‡.

* *Rymer*, viii. 279. † *Dugdale's Baron.* i. 717.
‡ *Collins's* Peerage, ii. 382.

OWEN, after ſecuring this potent enemy, began to give a free rein to his revenge; to puniſh ſuch of his countrymen whom he conſidered as traitors to the generous cauſe of freedom, by an unnatural adherence to the *Engliſh*, whoſe yoke they had borne for ſuch a length of time.

He burnt the houſes of *Kevn y fan*, and *Ceſail-gyfarch*, belonging to *Jevan ap Meredyth*, a partizan of the houſe of *Lancaſter*; and to whom, and *Meredyth ap Hwlkin Llwyd* of *Glynllivon* was intruſted (under an *Engliſh* captain) the caſtle of *Caernarvon*. This place was ſo cloſely blocked up by the friends of *Glyndwr*, that *Jevan* happening to die there at that time, it was found neceſſary to carry his corpſe by ſea, in order to inter it in the pariſh-church of *Penmorva*, on the other ſide of the county *.

Story of Howel Sele.

HOWEL SELE of *Nannau* in *Merionethſhire*, firſt couſin to *Owen*, had a harder fate. He likewiſe was an adherent to the houſe of *Lancaſter*. *Owen* and this chieftain had been long at variance. I have been informed, that the abbot of *Kymmer*, near *Dolgelleu*, in hopes of reconciling them, brought them together, and to all appearance affected his charitable deſign. While they were walking out, *Owen* obſerved a doe feeding, and told *Howel*, who was reckoned the beſt archer of his days, that there was a fine mark for him. *Howel* bent his bow, and, pretending to aim at the doe, ſuddenly turned and diſcharged the arrow full at the breaſt of *Glyndwr*, who fortunately had armour beneath his cloaths, ſo received no hurt. Enraged at this treachery, he ſeized on *Sele*, burnt his houſe, and hurried him away from the place; nor could ever any one learn how he was

* *Hiſt. Gwedir.* 53.

was diſpoſed of: till, forty years after, the ſkeleton of a large man, ſuch as *Howel*, was diſcovered in the hollow of a great oak, in which *Owen* was ſuppoſed to have immured him in reward of his perfidy. The ruins of the old houſe are to be ſeen in *Nannau* park, a mere compoſt of cinders and aſhes.

It muſt be obſerved, that when *Owen* was carrying him away, his relation *Gryffydd ap Gwyn*, of *Ganllwyd* in *Ardudwy*, attempted his reſcue, but was defeated with the loſs of numbers of his men, and of his houſes of *Berthlwyd* and *Cefn Coch*, which were burnt to aſhes.

Burns St. Aſaph. and Bangor.

It was about this period that *Owen* wreaked his revenge on the eccleſiaſtics who had favoured the cauſe of the *Engliſh*. His conduct in this inſtance ſeems indefenſible, for he paid no regard to the moſt ſacred edifices, but ſacrilegiouſly deſtroyed the cathedrals of *Bangor* and St. *Aſaph*, with the epiſcopal palace, and the canons houſes belonging to the laſt. He vented, in a particular manner, his reſentment againſt the laſt; as the biſhop, *John Trevor*, received his preferment from *Richard*, yet was ſo diſloyal as to pronounce againſt his unfortunate maſter the ſentence of depoſition, in favour of the uſurping *Henry*; and afterwards to accept an ambaſſy to the court of *Spain*, to juſtify *Bolingbroke*'s proceedings to the reigning prince.

Of biſhop Trevor.

HENRY conſidered him as a ſufferer in his cauſe; therefore gave power to the biſhops of *Hereford*, *Voltorno*, and *Bangor*, to ſuffer him to hold in *commendam* the living of *Meivod*, with the chapels of *Pool* and *Kegidva*, or *Guilsfield*, in order to ſupport his dignity during the ravage of his dioceſe *.

TREVOR

* *Rymer*, viii. 222, 246. the biſhop of *Voltorno* probably acted as the pope's legate.

TREVOR returned to *England* about the time of the deſtruction of his cathedral. Two years after this, he revolted from *Henry*, and joined with *Glyndwr*, to whom he adhered the reſt of his days. He appeared in arms with him in the year 1409 *. In the year following, on the decline of *Owen*'s affairs, he retired to *Paris*, died, and was buried in the chapel of the infirmary of the abby *de St. Victoire* there; and the following epitaph inſcribed to his memory:

Hic jacet Reverendus in CHRISTO Pater *Johannes* Epiſcopus *Aſaphenſis* in *Wallia*, qui obiit A. D. 1410. Die Veneris x menſis *Aprilis*; cujus anima feliciter requieſcat in pace. *Amen.*

Owen confirms him in his ſee; and depoſes the biſhop of Bangor.

GLYNDWR was pleaſed to confirm *Trevor* in his ſee, on returning to his allegiance; but depoſed from that of *Bangor* † *Richard Younge*, for his adherence to the uſurper, and kept him in cloſe confinement. *Owen* alſo appointed in his room *Llewelyn*, or, as ſome call him, *Lewis Bifort*; whoſe name is mentioned in 1406, among the chief of the inhabitants fined or outlawed on account of *Glyndwr*'s inſurrection in the iſle of *Angleſey*. He afterwards joined with the earl of *Northumberland* and lord *Bardolph*, and was taken priſoner in the caſtle of *Bramham Moor*, in *February* 1407-8, when theſe two noblemen were ſlain: but the biſhop's life was ſpared, as he was found unarmed ‡.

HENRY was alarmed at the ſucceſſes of *Glyndwr*, and reſolved to march in perſon againſt him once more. He iſſued out writs ‖ to the lieutenants of *Nottingham* and *Derby*, and to thoſe of thirty-two other counties, dated from the

* *Rymer*, viii. 588.
† *Willis's Bangor*, 84.
‡ *Goodwin*, 648.
‖ *Rymer*, viii. 264.

the caſtle of *Berkehamſtede*, *June* 5th; in which he requires them to aſſemble the forces of their reſpective juriſdictions, and to attend him at *Lichfield* on the 7th of *July*, in order to ſuppreſs this dangerous revolt.

Before the king could aſſemble his forces, news arrived of the great victory which *Glyndwr* obtained, on the 22d of *June*, over Sir *Edmund Mortimer*. *Owen*, after the defeat of lord *Grey*, purſued his reſentment againſt all the chieftains unfavourable to his deſigns; advanced with his army towards *Herefordſhire*, and the borders of *South Wales*; and carried fire and ſword through the lands of his opponents. None ſuffered ſo ſeverely as the vaſſals and tenants of *Edward Mortimer* earl of *March*, a child of ten years of age, who, with his brother *Roger*, was in the cuſtody of the king at that time. *Henry* was very ſenſible of the juſt title this child had to the crown, being deſcended from *Lionel* duke of *Clarence*, third ſon to *Edward* III. His title had even been acknowleged in parliament. This increaſed his majeſty's apprehenſions, and made him conſider the misfortunes of that family the ſtrengthening of his own throne.

Gains a great victory at Pilleth.

Sir EDMUND MORTIMER, uncle to this youth, unable any longer to bear the depredations of *Owen*, collected a large body of his nephew's tenants and retainers out of the county of *Hereford*, and the adjacent parts, particularly from *Melienydd* in *Radnorſhire*, and with theſe marched againſt the invader. A bloody action enſued on *Bryn-glas*, a mountain near *Pilleth*, a little ſouth-weſt of *Knighton*, in *Radnorſhire*. Victory declared in favour of our countryman. Some writers aſſert, that the archers of *Mortimer*'s army bent their bows againſt their own party.

party *. Another ſays †, that *March*'s *Welſh* tenants took to flight at the firſt onſet, and occaſioned the defeat. The loſs chiefly fell on the people of *Herefordſhire*. Eleven hundred fell on the ſide of *Mortimer*. 'The ſhamefull 'villanie uſed by the *Welſhwomen* towards the 'dead carcaſſes,' ſays *Holinſhed*, 'was ſuch as 'honeſt eares would be aſhamed to heare, and 'continent toongs ſo ſpeak thereof. The dead 'bodies might not be buried, without great 'ſummes of monie given for libertie to con-'veie them awaie ‡.'

SHAKESPEAR flings a fine horror over this dreadful tale, in relating,

> When, all athwart there came
> A poſt from *Wales* loaden with heavy news;
> Whoſe worſt was, that the noble *Mortimer*,
> Leading the men of *Herefordſhire* to fight
> Againſt the irregular and wild *Glendower*,
> Was by the rude hands of that *Welſhman* taken;
> A thouſand of his people butchered,
> Upon whoſe dead corpſe there was ſuch miſuſe,
> Such beaſtly, ſhameleſs transformation
> By thoſe *Welſhwomen* done, as may not be,
> Without much ſhame, re-told or ſpoken of.

I wiſh I could exculpate my countrywomen from this heavy charge. It originates from *Thomas de Walſingham*, an hiſtorian who, it muſt be confeſſed, wrote within forty years of this event. To his authority I beg leave to oppoſe that of another antient writer, who aſcribes theſe barbarities to a follower of *Glyndwr*, one

* *Stow*, 327. † Vita *Ricardi* II. 178.

‡ *Holinſhed*, 520; who relates it from *Walſingham*. Thoſe who wiſh to read the horrid tale, may conſult the laſt, p. 557. *Camdeni Script. Angl.*

one *Rees a Gyrch* *. I flatter myſelf that this was the caſe; for, had it been otherwiſe, it would have been totally unneceſſary to diſcourage the *Engliſh*, by an expreſs law †, from marrying with ſuch furies as the *Welſhwomen* were repreſented to have been.

Many hiſtorians pretend, that the young earl of *March* was preſent at this defeat; was made priſoner; and, to enſure his allegiance, obliged to marry a daughter of *Glyndwr*. But at this time he endured another ſpecies of confinement at *Windſor*: his uncle commanded the forces of the family, and loſt his liberty in the battle. Great inſtances were made to *Henry* for leave to ranſom him; but the jealous king, rejoicing in the misfortunes of this rival houſe, ſuffered him to continue in the power of his enemy; alledging, that Sir *Edmund* had treacherouſly flung himſelf into the hands of *Glyndwr*.

Takes priſoner Sir Edmund Mortimer

After this victory, *Glyndwr* received from all parts of *Wales* acceſſion of ſtrength. Notwithſtanding *Henry* was indifferent about the fate of the *Mortimers*, his own ſafety now required him to act with vigour. The deſign of aſſembling his army at *Lichfield* was laid aſide. New writs were iſſued out, dated the 31ſt of *July*. It was reſolved to diſtract the *Welſh* by three invaſions from different quarters. The rendezvous of the firſt army was to be at *Shrewſbury*, to be commanded by the king in perſon; the ſecond at *Hereford*, to be aſſembled by *Edmund* earl of *Stafford*, *Richard* earl of *Warwick*, and the lords *Grey*, *Abergavenny*, *Audeley*, and *Berkly*; and the third, under the conduct

* Vita *Ricardi*, 178. † Statute 4th *Henry* IV. c. 34.

duct of prince *Henry*, at *Cheſter*. The forces were to be aſſembled at each place by the 27th of *Auguſt* *.

Ravages Glamorganſhire.

OWEN, aſſured that theſe preparations could not take effect till a certain time, gave looſe to his reſentment, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, againſt the inhabitants of *Glamorganſhire*, who had ſided with the *Engliſh*. He marched into that county, ravaged it on all parts; and, after burning the biſhop's caſtle and the archdeacon's houſe † at *Llandaff*, in the ſame inroad he likewiſe burnt *Cardiff* and *Abergavenny*; and then returned to make head againſt the *Engliſh*.

The *Scots*, at this time, took advantage of the commotions of the *Welſh*; and, under the command of the great *Douglas*, invaded *England* with a body of twelve or thirteen thouſand men. It is almoſt certain, that they acted in concert with *Glyndwr*. Both nations were united in a common hatred of the *Engliſh*. Both had felt the weight of their power. The *Scots* meditated their inroad at the very time that *Henry* had drawn his forces to the borders of *Wales*, and, as they hoped, left the northern borders unguarded. *Henry* had intelligence, that it was to take place on the aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgin, or the 15th of *Auguſt*; and, in order to defeat it, directed the lieutenant of the county of *Lincoln* to haſten towards the north, with all the men he could raiſe.

Henry's fourth march.

HENRY, during this time, proceeded on his expedition againſt the *Welſh*. It does not appear whether the army under his ſon, and that under the earl of *Arundel* (on whom the command

* *Rymer*, viii. 271.
† *Willis's Llandaff*, 30, 31.

mand of the ſecond army was beſtowed) made ſeparate diverſions into different parts of the country in his favour; or whether he united their forces with his own. The event of his invaſion was very unfortunate. *Glyndwr*, who had too much prudence to hazard a battle againſt ſo ſuperior an army, retired to the faſtneſſes of the mountains; and drove away the cattle, and deſtroyed every means the *Engliſh* had of ſubſiſtence. The ſeaſon proved uncommonly bad; for the very elements ſeem to have warred againſt them. A continued courſe of ſtorms and rains, with the continual watching againſt an enemy ever hovering over them, and ready to take every occaſion of falling on them from the heights, waſted the army with ſickneſs and fatigue; and obliged the king once more to make a moſt inglorious retreat. Unſucceſsful.

The *Engliſh*, willing to cover their ſhame, attributed the cauſe of their diſgrace to the incantations of the *Britiſh* chieftain; 'who,' as 'an old hiſtorian expreſſes, 'through art ma-'gike (as was thought) cauſed ſuch foule wea-'ther of winds, tempeſt, raine, ſnow, and 'haile, to be raiſed for the annoiance of the 'king's armie, that the like had not beene 'heard of.' Perhaps *Glyndwr*, as well to infuſe terror into his foes, as to give his people a more exalted notion of him, might politically inſinuate his ſkill in ſpells and charms, that they might ſuppoſe him aided by more than mortal power. This ſpecies of credulity was not only ſtrong at this time, but even continued to more enlightened days. Owen reputed a Magician

OWEN, by the mouth of *Shakeſpear*, ſpeaks thus of his intercourſe with the tribe of ſpirits, and of his ſkill in the myſtic arts of divination:

Where

Where is he living, clipt in with the ſea
That chides the banks of *England*, *Wales*, or *Scotland*,
Who calls me pupil, or has read to me?
And bring him out, that is but woman's ſon,
Can trace me in the tedious ways of art,
Or hold me pace in deep experiments.
I can call ſpirits from the vaſty deep!

The poet, on this occaſion, plays finely with the warmth of *Glyndwr*; and draws from him that characteriſtic ſpirit of our country, which is nobly prompt to riſe on the appearance, or ſometimes on the very apprehenſions of inſult.

HENRY quickly received news from the north, that ſerved to alleviate the ill ſucceſs of his invaſion. The earl of *Northumberland*, and other northern barons, had aſſembled their forces to oppoſe the *Scots*, then on their return home; overtook them on *Holyrood*-day, or the 15th of *September*, on *Homeldon* hill near *Wooler*, and gained over them a complete victory. Numbers of the *Scotch* nobility were ſlain in the fight; and numbers taken; among whom was their gallant commander *Archibald* earl of *Douglas*, ſtyled by his countrymen *Tyneman*, from the loſs of men that attended him in all his conflicts.

Battle of Homeldon:

This battle was productive of bad events; and proved in the end the deſtruction of the *Percy* family. It was uſual for the priſoners to fall to the ſhare of the victors; and that each perſon who was fortunate or brave enough to make a captive, ſhould receive the reward of his valour, by having liberty to ranſom him according to his rank or abilities. *Henry Percy* ſurnamed *Hotſpur*, had himſelf, by the fortune of war, been made priſoner

Its Conſequences

priſoner by the *Scots*, and was redeemed according to the antient cuſtom of arms. The victors at this time expected and claimed the ſame right; but *Henry*, wiſhing to detain, as hoſtages for the peaceable conduct of the *Scottiſh* nation, theſe illuſtrious captives, ſent directions to the earl of *Northumberland*, that he ſhould by no means ſet them at liberty; but that he ſhould deliver them to him. *Henry* ſoftened this demand by rewarding *Northumberland* with a conſiderable grant of lands on the borders of *Scotland**; and parliament even ſent him a letter of thanks for his good ſervices. Notwithſtanding this, the *Percies* were greatly diſſatisfied. Whether their high ſpirit reſented the invaſion of their antient title of victors to their priſoners; or whether they were ſeized with remorſe for their diſloyalty to their former maſter; or whether they were actuated by the ambition of becoming independent; or whether all theſe cauſes might not co-operate is not very certain; yet, from this time, they formed their deſign of flinging off their allegiance to *Henry*.

The Percies diſcontented

A great diſcontent with his government at this period began to ſeize the nation. The affection for the murdered *Richard* revived. So willing were the people to imagine him ſtill alive, that the many reports invented on that ſubject were greedily ſwallowed; and a proneneſs to revolt almoſt generally appeared.

The firſt ſtep taken by the *Percies*, was the releaſe of the *Scottiſh* priſoners without ranſom. This gained the heart of *Douglas*; who went home, raiſed a body of men, and joined in the enterprize.

Releaſe their priſoners.

SIR

* *Rymer*, viii. 289.

Glyndwr ſets Mortimer at liberty.

SIR EDMUND MORTIMER, from the time of his defeat, was treated with the utmoſt humanity and reſpect. *Glyndwr*, politically determined to make uſe of this important priſoner as an inſtrument of his ambition, reminded him of the right of his houſe to the crown of *England*, and flattered him with the hopes of reſtoring it to the throne * of his anceſtors. The *Percies*, to whom he was allied, had made frequent inſtances to *Henry* for his ranſom, who, on falſe and injurious pretences, conſtantly refuſed attention to their requeſt; notwithſtanding, he never reſted till he had procured the enlargement of his favourite, lord *Grey*.

The *Percies* now began to extend their views; and to form a confederacy that promiſed fair to effect another revolution. They entered into an alliance with *Glyndwr*; obtained the releaſe of *Mortimer*; and, like the famous triumvirate of *Rome*, determined to divide the empire between them.

Conſpiracy of the Percies.

THEIR place of meeting, the *Mutina* of theſe heroes, was at the houſe of *David Daron*, or of *Aberdaron*, dean of *Bangor* †, ſon of *Evan ap Dafydd ap Gryffydd*, deſcended from *Caradoc ap Jeſtyn*, a prince of *Wales*. He was a man of intereſt and wealth; entered ſtrongly into their views; and in conſequence, in the year 1406, was outlawed for his attachment to them.

unite with Glyndwr

HERE the three chieftains formed the diviſion of *Britain*. Sir *Edmund Mortimer*, in behalf of his nephew the earl of *March*, took all the country from the *Trent* and *Severn* to the eaſtern and ſouthern limits of the iſland; *Northumberland* was to have all the counties

* Vita *Ricardi* II. 179. † *Willis's Bangor*, 122.

north

north of *Trent*; and *Glyndwr* every thing that lay beyond the *Severn* weſtwarn.

It was on this occaſion that *Owen*, to animate his country men, called up the antient prophecy, which predicted the deſtruction of *Henry*, under the name of *Moldwarp*, *curſed of* GOD'S *own mouth*. Himſelf he ſtyled the *dragon*; a name he aſſumed in imitation of *Uther*, whoſe victories over the *Saxons* were foretold by the appearance of a ſtar with a dragon beneath; which *Uther* uſed as his badge; and on that account it became a favourite one with the *Welſh*. On *Percy* he beſtowed the title of *lion*, from the creſt of the family; on *Mortimer*, that of the *wolf*, probably from a ſimilar reaſon. And theſe three were to divide the realm between them.

GLYNDWR was now in the meridian of his glory. He aſſembled the eſtates of *Wales* at *Machynlleth*, a town of *Montgomeryſhire*: he cauſed there his title to the principality to be acknowledged, and was formally crowned. Convention of the eſtates of Wales.

AT this meeting he narrowly eſcaped aſſaſſination. Among the chieftains, who appeared to ſupport his title, came a gentleman of *Brecknockſhire*, *David Gam*, or the one-eyed; a man, ſays Mr. *Carte**, who held his eſtate of the honour of *Hereford*, who had long been in the ſervice of *Bolingbrook*, and was firmly attached to his intereſt. Notwithſtanding he had married a ſiſter of *Glyndwr*, yet ſuch a furious hatred had he conceived to his cauſe, that he appeared at the aſſembly with the ſecret and treacherous reſolution of murdering his prince and brother-in-law. *Carte* ſays, that David Gam conſpires againſt Owen.

* ii. 654.

he

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he was inſtigated to it by *Henry*; but gives no authority for his aſſertion. Party-zeal, or hopes of reward, probably determined him to ſo nefarious a deed. He was a fit inſtrument for the purpoſe: a man of unſhaken courage; which was afterwards put to the proof in the following reign, at the battle of *Azincourt*. This was the gentleman who was ſent to explore the number of the enemy before the action; and who informed the king, that there were *enough to kill, enough to be taken priſoners, and enough to run away*. In the battle, *David*, his ſon-in-law *Roger Vychan*, and his relation *Walter Llwyd*, reſcued the king, when invironed with his foes. They ſaved his life at the expence of their own, and fell with many mortal wounds. The king,, after the victory, approached the place where they lay weltering in their blood; and, in the moment of death, beſtowed on them the only reward of their valour, which he could confer in that ſad time, the honour of knighthood.

Detected. BUT to return to the ſubject immediately under conſideration. The plot of *David* againſt *Glyndwr* was diſcovered. He was arreſted and impriſoned; and would have met with his merited puniſhment, if he had not been ſaved by the interceſſion of *Owen*'s beſt friends and warmeſt partizans*. He was pardoned on a ſolemn promiſe of attachment to the cauſe of *Glyndwr* and his country. It appears, that our chieftain did not chuſe to rely on his promiſe; but kept him in cloſe confinement till the year 1412, as will appear in the tranſaction of that period.

* *Wynne*'s Hiſt. *Wales*, 321.

GLYNDWR, as uſual, wreaked his vengeance on the lands and dependents of *Dafydd Gam*; entered his country, and burnt his houſe; and, while it was burning, calling one of *David*'s tenants, ſpoke thus merrily to him in verſe; which ſhews the general turn of our people to the rhyming art.

O gweſi di wr coch Cam
Yn ymofyn y Gyrnigwen:
Dywed ei bod hi tan y lan
A nody glo ar ei phen.

1403.

PREPARATIONS were made with great vigour by all parties. *Hotſpur*, leaving his father ill at *Berwick*, marched with his forces from the north; and, paſſing through *Cheſhire*, a county ever affectionate to *Richard*, was joined there by a numerous party. *Percy* ſent to *Owen*, to deſire he would meet him; but our countryman declined to comply: however, numbers of the *Welſh* joined *Hotſpur*, and marched with him to *Lichfield*, carrying the ſtag, the badge of the late king, as a party diſtinction. In that city he publiſhed his reaſons for taking arms againſt *Henry*, whom the family had ſo lately placed on the throne*. From hence he led his army towards *Shrewſbury*; probably becauſe he found himſelf too weak to attack the uſurper; for it ſeems as if his intention had been to have met him on his march, had *Glyndwr* joined him with his whole force. *Glyndwr*, on the other hand, had formed a conſiderable army in *Wales*,

Hotſpur marches to Shrewſbury.

* *Leland* Collect. ii. 312.

and Sir *Edmund Mortimer* had raiſed the vaſſals of his nephew.

In the month of *March*, *Henry* gave a ſtrong proof of the high opinion he had of his ſon *Henry* of *Monmouth*, afterwards king of *England*, at this time only fifteen years of age; for by writ, dated from *Weſtminſter*, the 7th of that month, he appoints him his lieutenant for *Wales** and all the adjacent counties, with full powers to raiſe men, and to act againſt the inſurgents as he ſhould think proper: to enquire into all treaſons; to examine who ſupplied the rebels with arms or proviſions; and to grant pardon to all who would lay down their arms, and give ſecurity for their peaceful behaviour.

Having thus provided, as he imagined, for the ſecurity of the borders of *England* on the ſide of *Wales*, he began to conſider of his march againſt the *Percies*. But hearing that *Glyndwr*†, by reaſon of want of proviſions, was preparing to make an inroad into the borders, iſſued orders from *Weſtminſter*, dated *June* 12th to the lieutenant of *Gloucesterſhire*‡, to prepare to repel the invaſion, with forces he ſhould aſſemble for that purpoſe. *Henry* then made a moſt expeditious march to *Burton* upon *Trent*, where we find him on the 16th, on his way againſt the northern rebels §. Here he underſtood that *Percy*, with his army, had advanced towards *Shrewſbury*, and was preparing to effect a junction with the forces of *Glyndwr* and *Mortimer*. He well knew the importance of preventing it from taking place;

Henry goes to meet him.

* *Rymer*, vii. 294. † Idem, 304. ‡ Idem, 314.
§ *Rymer*.

and directed his *march* towards that town, as is ſaid, by the advice of the earl of *Dunbar*, a *Scottiſh* nobleman, who had eſpouſed his cauſe. The diſpatch with which the king executed this reſolution, ſaved his crown. *Glyndwr*, who had aſſembled his forces at *Oſweſtry*, had ſent off only his firſt diviſion, amounting to four thouſand men, who behaved with ſpirit in the day of action *; in which fell his brother-in-law Sir *Jenkin Hanmer* †. *Henry* prevented him from proceeding with the reſt, by poſting himſelf between *Glyndwr* and *Shrewſbury*, and at the critical time that the northern rebels were about to ſcale the walls. *Percy* quitted the attempt; and, after rejecting the offer of peace, attacked the royal army at *Battlefield*, three miles from the place. He behaved with the ſpirit worthy of his name; fell valiantly, and with him the hopes of his party. This action happened on the 21ſt of *June*. *Glyndwr* had the mortification of being obliged to remain all the time inactive, at the head of twelve thouſand men, at *Oſweſtry*. The *Welſh* hiſtorians paſs an unjuſt cenſure on him for his conduct on this occaſion, and blame him for what, it ſeems, he could not effect. His great overſight appears to me to have been the neglect of attacking *Henry* immediately after the battle, when the royal forces had ſuſtained a vaſt loſs, and were overcome with fatigue; when his own followers, and the remains of the northern troops, would have formed an army nearly double to that of the king; when *Northumberland*, now recovered from his illneſs, was in full march towards him, the army of *Mortimer* entire, that of the king conſtrained

Percy defeated and ſlain.

Glyndwr continues at Oſweſtry.

* *Holinſhed*, 523. †*Collins*'s Baronets, ii. 236. ed. 1720.

to go northward. *Glyndwr* carried on a marauding war, and plundered the now defenceleſs marches. The king returned ſucceſsful from the north to the borders of *Wales*, determined to chaſtiſe the inſurgents; but was obliged to deſiſt from his enterprize, for want of money to pay his troops, and proviſions to ſubſiſt them. He did propoſe to remedy the firſt, by ſeizing on the ſuperfluous wealth of the prelates; but was prevented by the ſpirit of the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who boldly declared, that none of his province ſhould be ſpoiled on any account; which fruſtrated *Henry*'s intent on *Glyndwr*. The prelate was afterwards better adviſed, and made a grant of the tenth towards the king's neceſſary charges.

Henry ſecures the Welſh caſtles.

Nothing more was done this year than the ſecuring the *Welſh* caſtles, and placing over them perſons of known fidelity. The king dates his writ from *Worceſter*, the 8th of *September*; and, addreſſing it to *Guy Mohun* biſhop of St. *David*, at that time keeper of the privy-ſeal, and treaſurer of *England*, commits to him the cuſtody of the caſtle of *Llangadyn*; that of *Llanyndovery* to *John Touchet* lord *Audley*; *Laghern* to Sir *Henry le Scrope*; *Crickhowel* to *John Paucefort*; *Tretour* to *James Berkley*; *Abergavenny* and *Harald Ewyas* to Sir *William Beauchamp*; *Goderych* to Sir *Thomas Nevil de Furnivale*; *Erdeſley* to Sir *Nicholas Montgomery*; *Carleon* and *Uſk* to Sir *Edward Charlton* of *Powys*; *Caerphilli* and *Gwialacy* to *Conſtantia* lady *Deſpenſer*; *Menerbere* to Sir *John Cornwall*; *Payne Caſtle* and *Royl* to *Thomas* earl of *Warwick*, *Huntyngdon* to *Anne* counteſs of *Stafford*; *Lynhales* and *Dorſton* to Sir

* *Holinſhed.*

Walter Fitz-Walter; *Stepulton* to *John Brian* baron of *Burford Brampton* to *Brian de Brampton*; and to Sir *John Chandos* the caſtle of *Snowdon**.

The laſt public act relating to the inſurrections of the marches, was to empower the prince of *Wales* to treat with certain *Cheſhire* †gentlemen about their fines, for appearing in arms in the battle of *Shrewſbury*.

On the 14th and 15th of the ſame month, he gives power to *William Beauchamp* to pardon certain of the vaſſals on his lands of *Abergavenny* and *Ewyas Herald*, who had appeared in arms in behalf of *Glyndwr*; and to the famous Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, *John ap Henry*, and *John Fairford*, clerk, to pardon the inhabitants of *Brecknock*, *Built*, *Cancreſſelly*, *Hay*, *Glynbough*, and *Dynas*; to receive their weapons: and to oblige them to take the oath of fidelity. In this the king only ſecures their perſons, but reſerves to himſelf their forfeit lands, goods, and chattles. The firſt is dated from *Hereford*; the other from *Devenok*‡.

1404.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *French* king had conſented, through the neceſſity of his own affairs, to a truce of thirty years with *Henry*, yet he never could be brought to acknowledge his title to the crown. In his treaties, *Charles* ſtyles him only *notre couſin d'Angleterre*‖, or *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, or our adverſary of *England*, or the ſucceſſor of the late king *Richard*§. There is all the appearance of a correſpondence between *Charles* and the *Engliſh* and

Conduct of the French.

* *Rymer*, viii. † Idem, 333. ‡ Idem, 331.
‖ Idem. § *Carte*, ii. 656.

We'ſh

Welſh inſurgents in the laſt year; and that the expedition towards *Shrewſbury*, and an invaſion of *England* by the *French*, were concerted, to diſtract the attention of *Henry*. Their fleets hovered over our coaſts under other pretences. They even landed in the iſle of *Wight*, and did conſiderable damage to the country.

An open war was daily expected with *France*. The parliament took the ſafety of the king into conſideration. His houſhold was regulated; and in particular, it was ordered, that no *Frenchman* or *Welſhman* ſhould remain about his majeſty's perſon*.

Glyndwr ſends Embaſſadors to Charles VII.

The wiſdom of this proviſion ſoon became very apparent. A league, offenſive and defenſive, was formed between *Charles* and *Owen*. *Owen* ſent his chancellor *Griffith Yonge*, doctor of laws, and his kinſman *John Hanmer*, embaſſadors to the *French*. Their appointment is dated from *Dolgellu*, in a princely ſtyle: *Datum apud* Dolguelli, 10 *die menſis* Mai, MDCC. *quarto et principatus noſtri quarto*; and begins, OWINUS *Dei gratia princeps* WALLIÆ, &c. †.

League concluded between them.

CHARLES received them with open arms. The league was ſigned at *Paris* on the 14th of *June*. The perſons that acted on the part of *Charles* were *James Bourbon* earl of *March*, and *John* biſhop of *Carnot*. *Owen*'s ambaſſadors ſigned their part on the 14th of *July*, in the houſe of *Ferdinand de Corbey*, chancellor of *France*; ſeveral prelates and perſons of

* *Parliamentary Hiſt.* ii. 79. † *Rymer*, viii. 356.

high

high rank attending as witneſſes*. *Glyndwr* ratified this treaty on the 12th of *January* 1405, from his caſtle of *Lampadarn* †.

The affairs of *Glyndwr* bore ſo proſperous an aſpect, that about this time *Trevor* biſhop of *St. Aſaph* revolted from *Henry*, and joined with his countryman; whether actuated by remorſe for his dealings with his old maſter, or tempted with the hopes of preferment under a new government, is not evident.

Glyndwr retreats before the Engliſh

OWEN opened the campaign of this year with vigour. He laid waſte the country of his enemies; took ſeveral caſtles, among others, thoſe of *Harlech* and *Aberyſtwyth*. Some he diſmantled, and others he reſerved, and garriſoned. He directed his march into *Montgomeryſhire*, and fell in with an *Engliſh* army at *Mynyddicwn du*. They attacked him, ſlew many of his men, and obliged him to retreat. He ſoon repaired this diſgrace; for, collecting his forces again, he purſued the victors with ſuch expedition, that he overtook them at a place called *Craig y Dorth*, near *Monmouth*; defeated, and purſued them to the very gates of every town or caſtle they had fled to.

Defeats them.

The *Engliſh* hiſtorians mentions the defeat of *Glyndwr*. They inform us that the *Engliſh* army was commanded by *Richard Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick*, who took the banner of *Glyndwr* ‡; but are ſilent in regard to the revenge that ſo immediately followed. The king undertook nothing this year againſt *Glyndwr*. *Beauchamp* had large poſſeſſions in the county of *Monmouth*, and found it requiſite to raiſe his vaſſals to preſerve his country from deſolation.

* *Rymer*, viii. 365, 366, 367. † Idem, 382.
‡ *Dugdale's Baron.* i. 243.

1405.

1405.

THIS year opened with an attempt of a very extraordinary nature; nothing leſs than to free from their confinement the young earl of *March* and his brother, with the intent of ſetting up the title of the firſt againſt that of *Henry*, and to involve the whole kingdom in his quarrel. There were many engaged in the deſign. *Wales* was to have been his aſylum, and *Glyndwr* his protector: ſuch deep intelligence had he with the diſſaffected, even near the ſeat of the court. *March* was kept in cloſe cuſtody at *Windſor*, a royal reſidence, amidſt guards, and ſecured by every precaution that a jealous uſurper could invent. Notwithſtanding, a plot was laid. *Conſtance* lady *Spencer*, widow to lord *Spencer*, and ſiſter to the duke of *York*, contrived their deliverance. She procured falſe keys, ſtole away the two youths, and was haſtening with them towards *Wales*, when they were ſeized and brought back. The lady was impriſoned. A ſeverer fate attended the poor ſmith that made the keys, who was beheaded, after having both his hands chopped off*.

Attempts to ſteal away the Earl of March.

Fortune now began to frown upon *Glyndwr*. The firſt experience he had of her mutability was on the 11th of *March*: a body of his partizans, to the amount of eight thouſand, had aſſembled out of *Glamorganſhire*, *Uſke*, *Netherwent*, and *Overwent*. As uſual they began their march with deſolating the country; and burnt part of the town of *Groſmont*, in the county of *Monmouth*. *Henry* prince of *Wales* was at that time at *Hereford*, with the army entruſted to him by his father,

Battle of Uſke;

*Holinſhed, 527.

ready

ready to open the campaign. He there received an account of the defeat of theſe male-contents, by a handful of men commanded by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, joined by Sir *William Newport* and Sir *John Greindre*. He tranſmitted the account to his father, in a letter written in an uncommon ſtrain of piety and dutifulneſs, contradictory to the popular opinion of his early licentiouſneſs; for at that time he was only ſeventeeen years of age. He begins with inploring Heaven for its favour towards his father: *Je ſupplie vraiement que* DIEU *vous montre graciouſment pour vous ſon miracle on toutes parties, loez ſoit il en toutes ſes oeures.——Il eſt bien voirs, que la victoire n'eſt pas en la multitude de people mes en la puiſſance de* DIEU.

It ſeems that the *Welſh* forgot the antient ſpirit of their country; and yielded an eaſy victory to the enemy. Eight hundred or a thouſand were ſlain. No quarter was given on the occaſion, except to one perſon, *un grant chiefteyn entre eulx*. The humanity of young *Henry* appears to great advantage on this affair. He tells his father, that he would have ſent the priſoner to him, but that he could not yet ride with any eaſe (I ſuppoſe on account of his wounds) *mes il ne poet chivacher uncore a ſon aiſe* *.

To repair this diſaſter, *Glyndwr* inſtantly ſent one of his ſons with another army. They probably were reinforced by the fugitives from the laſt action. Another battle was fought on the fifteenth of the ſame month, at *Mynydd y Pwll Melyn* in *Brecknockſhire*, again fatal to the cauſe of *Owen*. Fifteen hundred of his men were

Of Pwll Melyn.

* *Rymer*, viii. 390.

were ſlain or taken priſoners: among the laſt was his ſon; among the firſt his brother *Tudor*, who reſembled *Glyndwr* ſo greatly, that a report was ſpread of his death, to the great dejection of his countrymen: but on examining the dead body, it was found to want a wart over the eye, which diſtinguiſhed our chieftain from his brother. According to *Carte* *, young *Henry* commanded at this battle.

HOLINSHED † mentions another defeat which the *Welſh* ſuſtained in the month of *May*, in which *Gryffydd Yonge*, *Owen*'s chancellor, was made priſoner. I ſuſpect that that hiſtorian confounds this action with that near *Groſmont*; but that the chancellor was the great chieftain there made priſoner, muſt be a miſtake; for we find him witneſs, the next year, to a pardon granted by *Owen* to one *Jevan Gôch*.

After theſe defeats, all *Glamorganſhire* ſubmitted to the king, a few faithful friends only excepted; who, on diſcovering that *Owen* was alive, fled and joined him. It was at this time that he ſuffered thoſe diſtreſſes which the *Engliſh* attribute to the latter part of his life. During this diſperſion of his friends, he was obliged to ſeek protection from a few truſty partizans; and often to conceal himſelf in caves and deſert places. A cavern near the ſea-ſide, in the pariſh of *Llangelynin*, in the county of *Merioneth*, is ſtill called *Ogof Owain*, in which he was ſecretly ſupported by *Ednyfed ap Aaron*, of the tribe of *Ednowain ap Bradwen*.

The bard *Jolo Gôch* deplores his abſence; and calls him home from different parts of the globe,

* ii. 665. † 528.

globe, to re-poſſeſs himſelf of his principality. He in one place ſuppoſes him to be at *Rome*, and entreats him to return laden with tokens from St. *Peter*.

About this time the earl of *Northumberland* began another conſpiracy; which was detected, and ſeveral of his adherents were executed. Among others, one Sir *John Griffith*, a *Welſh* knight; which makes it probable, that the earl and *Glyndwr* ſtill acted in concert. The king, by his activity, quickly fruſtrated this plot; ſeized on the earl's caſtles, and obliged him to fly into *Scotland* for protection. With him fled the biſhops of St. *Aſaph* and *Bangor* *, and the abbot of *Welbeck*. The two firſt were probably placed by *Glyndwr* about the earl, to conſult the proper meaſures for the ſucceſsful execution of their deſigns.

HENRY then returned, and marched into *Wales* with an army of 37,000 men. The ſame ill-fortune attended him in this as in former expeditions. The weather proved ſo bad, that he was obliged to make a haſty retreat to *Worceſter*, aggravated with the loſs of fifty of his carriages †. *Shakeſpear* makes our chieftain thus vaunt the frequent defeats of his antagoniſt, even before the battle of *Shrewſbury*:

Henry marches again into Wales.

> Three times hath *Henry Bolingbroke* made head
> Againſt my pow'r; thrice from the banks of *Wye*,
> And ſandy-bottom'd *Severn*, have I ſent
> Him bootleſs home, and weather-beaten back.

Not-

* *Fordun, Scotichronicon.* ii. 441.
† *Walſingham*, 566.

French assist Owen.

Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of the king, the affairs of *Owen* would, in all probability, have found a ſad change, had not, at this very period, his ally *Charles* VI. ſent him a moſt ſeaſonable aſſiſtance; which, for a conſiderable time, prolonged the war, and delayed his total ruin. A conſiderable armament was made in the ports of *France*. It was planned by the duke of *Orleans* *, regent of *France* during the inſanity of *Charles*. The invaſion was to have taken place the preceding year; and (as *Rapin* obſerves) ſeems to have been intended to coincide with the inſurrection of *Scroope* archbiſhop of *York*, and other noblemen in the north. Their attempt proved fatal to them. But the fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and forty ſhips, ſailed from *Breſt* the latter end of *June*, with an army of twelve thouſand men. According to the hiſtorian of this reign, *Mademoiſelle de Luſſan* †, there were among them eight hundred men at arms, ſix hundred croſs-bows, and twelve hundred foot-ſoldiers, all choſen troops.

Our hiſtorians ſay, that they were commanded by the *Marechal de Montmorency*; but I cannot diſcover that any of that great houſe was engaged in the expedition. The fleet was under the command of *Renaud de Trie*, lord of *Serifontaine*, admiral of *France*; the land forces under that of *Jean de Rieux*, lord of *Rieux* and *Rochfort*, *Marſhal* of *France*. Under him ſerved *Jean*, or, as *Moreri* calls him, *Aubert de Hangeſt Sire de Hugueville*, maſter of the croſs-bows; and who, by reaſon of the age and infimities

* Hiſtoire et regne de *Charles* VI. tom. iv. 190.
† Ibid.

firmities of *Rieux*, ſeems to have been the acting general. According to the genius of the nation, the officers made the moſt brilliant appearance; and *Hugueville* actually ſold to the church of *Paris* his fine eſtate of *Agencourt* near *Mondidier*, in order to furniſh himſelf with a magnificent equipage *.

Land in Wales.

The fleet had a very favourable paſſage; but by neglect of providing ſufficient quantity of freſh water, moſt of the horſes periſhed. According to the beſt authority †, the forces landed under the command of *Hugueville*, in *Milford Haven*. He immediately marched towards *Caermarthen*, which he beſieged and took by capitulation. The garriſon were ſuffered to depart, and had liberty to take their effects with them ‡.

He declined making any attempt on *Pembroke*, by reaſon of the ſtrength of the caſtle; but ſat down before *Haverford-weſt*: where the earl of *Arundel* made ſo gallant a defence, that the *French* were obliged to raiſe the ſiege with conſiderable loſs. *Glyndwr* had, by this time, reached *Tenbigh* with ten thouſand men, where he was joined by *Hugueville*. As ſoon as the neceſſary preparations were finiſhed, they marched through *Glamorganſhire*, reached *Worceſter*, and burnt the ſuburbs, and ravaged the country round §.

As ſoon as *Henry* heard of the intended invaſion, he iſſued out a proclamation ‖, dated from *Weſtminſter*, *July* 2d; in which he directs the lieutenants of ſeveral counties to raiſe forces to repel the foe. Lord *Berkley*, and *Herny*

Pay

* Hiſtoire et regne de *Charles* VI. tom. iv. 190.
† *Rymer*, viii. 406. ‡ *Walſingham*, 566.
§ *Monſtrelet*. ‖ *Rymer*, viii.

Pay admiral of the cinque ports, commanded at ſea, and burnt, according to our account, fifteen of the *French* ſhips as they lay at anchor in *Milford-Haven*; and afterwards (joined by Sir *Thomas Swinborn*) took fourteen more in their paſſage to *Wales*, laden with ammunition and proviſions for the army *. *Mademoiſelle de* LUSSAN takes notice of the firſt; but candidly confeſſes, that the *French* were ſo terrified with the appearance of thirty ſail of our ſhips, that they themſelves directed the deſtruction of thoſe veſſels.

In the beginning of *Auguſt*, *Henry* received advice that the *French* were landed; and again ſends out a proclamation, dated from *Pontefract*, *Auguſt* 7th, addreſſed to the lieutenant of the county of *Hereford*, with orders to raiſe without delay his forces, and repair with them to the city of *Hereford*. It is in this proclamation he expreſsly calls the *French* general, lord of *Hugueville*.

Henry marches againſt them.

HENRY marched in perſon to oppoſe an enemy now grown ſo very formidable; but *Hugueville*, after plundering the country, on the king's approach, made a ſudden retreat, and poſted himſelf on a high hill, about three leagues from *Worceſter*, with a deep valley between his and the royal army. Each endeavoured to bring the enemy to make the attack; and for eight days they reſpectively preſented themſelves in order of battle, and ſo continued from morning till night; but neither party ventured to deſcend from its advantageous ſituation.

* *Walſingham*, 566; who adds, that a marſhal and ſeven captains were taken at the ſame time.

ation. During this time, there were ſeveral ſkirmiſhes. The loſs on both ſides was about two hundred, beſides numbers wounded. The *French* loſt *Patrouillart de Trie*, lord of *Mouci* and *Pleſſis*, chamberlain to the king, and brother to the admiral; a gallant officer, whoſe fate was much lamented by the army *. There fell that day alſo the lord of *Martelonne*, and the lord of *La Valle*; and, as *Hall* ſays, the baſtard of *Bourbon*. Our hiſtorians ſeem to exaggerate their loſs, adding to it that of five hundred other gentlemen; but *Monſtrelet* aſſerts, that on a review of the *French* troops, when they returned home, only ſixty were found miſſing.

The camp that *Owen* is ſuppoſed to have poſſeſſed, is on *Woburry-hill*, in the pariſh of *Whittley*, exactly nine miles northweſt of *Worceſter*. It is ſurrounded with a ſingle foſs; and contains near twenty-ſeven acres. It probably had been an antient *Britiſh* poſt; but was extremely convenient for *Glyndwr*, not only by reaſon of its ſtrength, but, as *Wales* lay open to him, he had it in his power to retreat among the mountains whenever he found it neceſſary. I never had an opportunity of examining the nature of the ground, and how far it ſuits the deſcription given by *Monſtrelet*; but the public will have their curioſity amply gratified by the pen of my friend Dr. NASH, now employed in forming the hiſtory of his native county.

HENRY acted the part of a prudent general, by cutting off the means of every ſupply from the enemy; who, worn with famine and fatigue, in the midnight of the eighth day decamped with

French retreat.

* *Moreri*; who ſays he fell at the attack of *Haverford-weſt*.

with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and retired into *Wales** *Monſtrelet* makes the king quit his ſtation firſt, and return the ſame night to *Worceſter*; and adds, that the *French* attacked him in his retreat, and took from him eighteen waggons loaden with proviſions. *Hall*, on the contrary, aſſures us, that *Henry* 'chaſed the enemy 'from hilles to dales, from dales to woddes, 'from woddes to mariſhes, and yet could ne-'ver have them at any advantage. A worlde 'it was to ſee his quotidiane removyng; his 'paynfull and buſy wanderying, his trouble-'ſome and uncertayne abidyng, his continual 'mocion, his daily peregrinacion in the de-'ſert felles and craggy mountains of that bar-'reine, unfertile, and depopulate countrey.' In the end, the king, unable any longer to ſubſiſt his army in a country which *Glyndwr* had expreſsly deſtroyed to diſtreſs his enemy, was obliged to deſiſt from his purſuit, and to return to *Worceſter*; and, as *Hall* owns, in his retreat, loſt 'certayn cariages laden with vi-'tayle, to his great diſpleaſure, and to the 'great comforte of the *Welſh*.'

Time of this campaign.

I muſt enquire when *Henry* had leiſure for ſo long and tedious a campaign; for I find him the 22d of *Auguſt* at *Pontefract*, the 27th at *Worceſter*, and the 4th of *September* at *Hereford*. In four days from that time, it appears he was at *Faxflete*.

At *Beverley*, the 13th of the ſame month. At *Biſhopthorp* in the ſame county from the 16th to the 21ſt; the next day at *Cawood*. After which there is an unaccounted gap of time, till he appears again at *Worceſter* the 6th of *October*. I am thus minute, to ſhew that *Henry* poſſeſſed a ſtrength of body equal to

* *Monſtrelet*, 16. *Hall*, 19.

to his activity of mind; otherwiſe he never could have flown with that rapidity from place to place, nor have guarded againſt enemies ſo remote as the *Scots* and *Welſh*, at nearly the ſame period.

It ſeems as if all his forces deſtined to oppoſe the laſt, were arrived at their places of rendezvous before the 6th of *October* *. From that time he was in all probability engaged in this expedition; *Hall* aſſigning (among other reaſons for the king's deſiſting from his enterprize) the approach of winter, which rendered a campaign amidſt the mountains highly unſafe. Accordingly we find him at *Dunſtable*, on his road to *London*, the 3d of *November* †, and at his palace at *Weſtminſter* ſoon after ‡.

The *French*, after their flight, never made any farther attempt. *Glyndwr* placed them in quarters, where they remained till they quitted the kingdom; when he furniſhed the greater part with veſſels to tranſport them to *France*. Fifteen hundred remained in *Wales* till the *March* following, when they were carried home by a perſon ſtyled by *de Luſſan*, *Le Begue de Volay* ‖. French quit Wales.

After the defeat of *Gryffydd* ſon of *Glyndwr*, by *Henry* prince of *Wales*, that youthful warrior undertook the ſiege of *Llanbedr* caſtle, in the county of *Cardigan*. After ſome time, the governor placed there by *Glyndwr* agreed to give it up, in caſe it was not relieved between the 24th of *October* and the feaſt of *All Saints*. He was to ſurrender it in good condition; not to injure the inhabitants in the town, nor ſeize any ſhips that ſhould be driven into the port Siege of Llanbedr Caſtle.

* *Rymer*, viii. 420. † Idem, 421. ‡ Ibid.
‖ *De Luſſan*, iv. 195.

by diſtreſs of weather; that he ſhould have free pardon, and have liberty, at the end of the term, to depart with all thoſe of his friends. I obſerve, among the inſtruments of war which were to be delivered up, were *canones*, Anglicè *gunners*; which had been invented by the *French* about twenty-ſix years before this period. He took the ſacrament in witneſs of his ſincerity, and delivered hoſtages for the performance of his agreement. He probably relied on the aſſiſtance of the *French* for relief. *Henry* apprehended the ſame. But, in order to fruſtrate any attempts of that kind, he iſſued out a writ, dated from *Cawood* the 22d of *September*, to the lieutenants of *Devonſhire*, and of other counties, to raiſe their forces, and to rendezvous at *Eveſham* on the 10th of *October* *. This caution took effect ſo far, as to oblige *Rees ap Gryffydd ap Shenkin* alias *Rees ap Llewelyn*, to agree to the terms propoſed; but ſeemingly without any deſign of preſerving them; for, no ſooner was the prince departed, than *Rees* permitted *Glyndwr* to turn him and his garriſon out, under pretence that they had been guilty of treaſon in ſubmitting without his conſent †.

I muſt conclude the tranſactions of this year, with remarking the ſolicitude of the lords and commons about the relief of the lord of *Coitie*, then beſieged in the caſtle of the ſame name, ſeated near the river *Ogmore* in *Glamorganſhire*. *Henry* was little concerned about his fate; but ſeveral prelates and perſons of rank in both houſes offered a loan, for the purpoſe of raiſing forces for his reſcue. At length it was argeed by king and parliament, that theſe loans

Siege of Coitie Caſtle by Glyndwr.

* *Rymer*, iii. 419. 497. † *Walſingham*, 568. *Holinſhed*, 533.

loans ſhould be repaid out of the firſt payments of the ſubſidy at that time granted *.

1406.

From the latter end of laſt year, the affairs of *Glyndwr* began to decline. He had ſtill ſtrength ſufficient to keep within his mountainous territories; but was too weak to meditate any thing more than marauding invaſions. The *French* continued to give him ſome aſſiſtance. They ſent a fleet of thirty-eight ſail. I imagine, from the ſmall number, that they were wearied of their ally; yet were willing to keep up, for their own intereſt, the ſpirit of the inſurgents. Eight of theſe ſhips, laden with men at arms, were taken; the reſt eſcaped in great confuſion to *Wales* †.

French ſend more forces.

About this time *Owen* was conſiderably weakened by the defection of the inhabitants of *Yſtrad Tywy*.

The preſence of that brave and active prince *Henry* of *Monmouth*, who at the expreſs requeſt of parliament ‡ reſided in ſome part of *Wales*, was no ſmall check on the enterprizing temper of *Glyndwr*, nor a leſs terror to the *Welſh*, who had felt the force of his arms. At the ſame time, parliament, ſenſible of the folly of the premature grants before made of the eſtates of the inſurgents, entered on record, that no heritages conquered from the *Welſh*, be given away till one quarter of an year after ‖: ſo precarious

* *Drake*'s Parliamentary Hiſtory, ii. 85. This was a very conſiderable fortreſs, as appears by *Buck*'s view of it, vol. ii. N° 398. † *Walſingham*, 566. ‡ *Parliamentary Hiſt.* ii. 93. ‖ Ibid.

ſeemed the tenure, even in the declining ſtate of our chieftain. I may remark, that he ſtill had ſtrength enough to give protection to the *Engliſh* fugitives. The great earl of *Northumberland*, and lord *Bardolf*, found here a hoſpitable aſylum, after the *Scots*, to whom they had entruſted themſelves, meditated the giving of them up to *Henry*, in exchange for certain priſoners. Sir *David Fleming* of *Cumbernauld* generouſly warned them of the intentions of his countrymen; who in revenge took away his life*.

Before the expiration of this year, *Henry* made a grant in fee to Sir *John Tibetot*, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and father to the accompliſhed peer *John* earl of *Worceſter*, of the eſtates of *Richard ap Gryffydd ap Vychan*, in the counties of *Caermathen* and *Cardigan*, forfeited by his adherence to the party of *Glyndwr*†.

Glynwr grants a pardon.

GLYNDWR again was not behind hand in acts of regal power; for about this time he grants a pardon to one *John ap Howel ap Jevan gôch; anno principatus noſtri VI° datum apud Kevn Llanvair X^o die Jan. per ipſum principem.* On the ſeal was the portrait of *Owen* ſeated in a chair, holding a ſceptre in his right hand, and a globe in the left.

It is obſervable, that among the witneſſes are *Gryffydd* his eldeſt ſon, and *Gryffydd Yonge* his chancellor; both of whom, the *Engliſh* hiſtorians ſay, were made priſoners, and ſent to the Tower. As *Henry* ſhewed no mercy to the partizans of *Owen*, it is not probable that theſe two would have eſcaped his rage, had they ever

* *Walſingham*, 566. † *Parliamentary Hiſt.* 106.

ever been in his power. The other two witneſſes are *Meredith*, another of his ſons, and *Rhys ap Tudur*, and *Gwillim ap* ******.

Notwithſtanding this oſtentation of regal power, the affairs of *Glyndwr* evidently declined. The garriſons placed in moſt of the different fortreſſes of *North Wales* had kept the maritime parts from riſing in any numbers in his favour. In the iſland of *Angleſea*, he ſeems to have had a very ſtrong party. It does not appear that there ever was any battle in that iſland. It is my opinion, that the partizans of *Owen* paſſed the *Menai*, and, while their zeal was warm, had joined his army; and, like the cuſtom in all feudal times, returned to their homes when wearied with the campaign, or ſatiated with plunder. His affairs decline.

By the latter end of this year, they had ſubmitted to the royal authority: for I find, from a manuſcript found among the papers of the learned EDWARD LLWYD of the *Muſæum*, this particular:

'In an inquiſition taken at *Beaumaris*, upon '*Tueſday*, the day next before the feaſt of St. '*Martin* the biſhop, (which is the 11th of *No*'*vember*) in the 8th year of king *Henry* IV. 'anno Domini 1406, before *Thomas Twhkwl*, '*Philip de Mainwaring*, and *Robert Paris* the 'younger, commiſſioners, by virtue of a com'miſſion from prince *Henry*, ſon and heir ap'parent of the king, prince of *Wales*, duke of '*Acquitaine*, *Lancaſter*, and *Cornwall*, and earl 'of *Cheſter*, unto them, or any two of them, 'directed, were indicted, preſented, and fin'ed, the ſeveral perſons and inhabitants of the 'iſle of *Angleſea*, whoſe names are hereunder 'written, for being in arms and rebellion with '*Owen Glyndyfrdwy* and others.' Angleſea fined by the king.

I refer

I refer the reader for the particular of their names to the Appendix. I only ſhall obſerve here the *Cwmmwds*, the numbers of perſons fined in each, and the ſum total of them and the fines.

		£.	s.	d.
In *Llivon* -	411 -	100	18	8
Menai -	308 -	65	10	8
Talibolion -	399 -	123	16	4
Twrkelyn -	279 -	83	5	8
Maltraeth -	326 -	83	16	0
Tindaethwy -	389 -	79	19	8
	2112	537	7	0

I muſt obſerve, that the greateſt of the fines is £. 8. 3*s*. 4*d*. and the leaſt, 2*s*.; and that two prieſt are fined five pounds each, I ſuppoſe, for miſleading their flocks. Several perſons are outlawed, and the goods of thoſe ſlain in battle forfeited to the king, according to the following valuation:

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
A horſe	0	2	0	A yearling calf	0	0	4
mare -	0	1	4	ſheep -	0	0	4
cow -	0	1	8	cronnach of			
ſteer or hei-				wheat -	0	3	4
fer -	0	1	0	ditto oats -	0	2	0

1407.

1407.

Hiſtory furniſhes us with very few materials reſpecting the tranſactions of this year. They were probably few and unimportant. *Owen* had loſt the fortreſſes of *Llanbedr* * (which was was ſoon retaken) and that of *Harlech*. He was confined to the hills, and ſeems never to have quitted his faſtneſſes but to make a prædatory war. The earl of *Northumberland* and lord *Bardolf*, about this time, apprehending that *Owen* was too weak to protect them, quitted *Wales*, and ſoon after loſt their lives in a deſperate effort to reſtore their cauſe, on *Bramham*-moor in *Yorkſhire*.

1408.

In this year I diſcover nothing relative to the *Welſh* affairs, farther than a due compliment paid to the prince of *Wales* by the commons; who, by their ſpeaker, deſired the king to give public thanks to young *Henry* for his great fatigue and good conduct in *Wales*; for which both king and prince returned their compliments again to the commons †.

1409.

In this year *Glyndwr* again began to make head. By himſelf, or his partizans, he made great devaſtations on the marches, and in thoſe parts of *Wales* that were well affected to the *Engliſh* government. The eſtates of *Edward de Charlton* Makes head again.

* Near *Aberyſtwyth* is an old embattled houſe, (as I am informed) called *Ty Cryf*, reported to have been *Glyndwr*'s. † *Rymer*, viii. 547.

Charlton lord *Powys* ſuffered greatly. *Henry* therefore directs a writ to that nobleman to raiſe his forces, and ſuppreſs, in the moſt vigorous manner, this new diſturbance, headed, as it appears, by *Glyndwr* himſelf and the biſhop of St. *Aſaph*. Lord *Powys* was at the ſame inſtructed not to quit the country, but to keep all his caſtles garriſoned, and not to permit any of his eſtates to be deſerted. This is dated from *Weſtminſter* the 16th of *May**.

Like orders were iſſued to *Edward* duke of *York*, *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*, *Richard* earl of *Warwick*, *Reginald* lord *Grey*, *Conſtantia* lady *Deſpenſer*, (who had now made her peace with the crown) *Francis Court*, and *William Beauchamp*.

This activity proved fatal to *Ryhs Ddu* and *Philip Scudamore*, two of *Owen*'s beſt officers, whom he had ſent into *Shropſhire*, where they committed great exceſſes. They were both made priſoners, ſent to *London*, and executed. *Caxton*† relates, that *Rhys* was taken before the juſtices, condemned, and drawn on a hurdle through the city to *Tyburn*, where he ſuffered the death of a traitor. His quarters were ſent to four other cities; his head placed on *London* bridge.

On the 18th of *November*, in this year, *Henry* iſſued out an order to the conſtable of *Windſor* caſtle, to deliver to Sir *William Liſle* knight, marſhal of *England*, the following *Welſh* priſoners:

Howel

* *Rymer*, viii. 588. † Cronycle of *Englonde*, 143.

Howel ap Jevan ap Howell. *Rys ap Meredyd.*
Walther ap Jevan Vechan. *Madoc Bery.*
Rys ap Jevan ap Rys. *Jenkin Backer.*
Jevan Goch ap Morgan. *David ap Cad.*
David ap Tudor. *Thomam Dayler.* *

After this follows a warrant to Sir *William* to receive them. I imagine, that all theſe gentlemen were delivered to the marſhal for execution; who, by his commiſſion, ſeems to have been expreſsly appointed for that purpoſe; *certis de cauſis ad ea omnia et ſingula quæ ad officium* Mareſcalli Angliæ *pertinent exercenda per litteras noſtras patentes quam diu nobis placuerit, duraturas deputavimus.*

Towards the latter end of the year, ſeveral of the officers of the lords marchers, either through diſlike to the war, or for the ſake of preſerving their country from the fury of the *Welſh*, of their own authority formed a truce with *Glyndwr* and his partizans. This only ſerved to enable them to make their inroads on other parts with more ſecurity. Many of the loyal borderers were ſlain, and others plundered, in conſequence of theſe agreements. *Henry* was highly irritated, and immediately iſſued out writs † to *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*, Sir *Richard L'Eſtrange* lord of *Knockyn*, *Elleſmere*, and other bordering manors, *Edward Charlton* lord *Powys*, and *Reginald* lord *Grey* of *Ruthyn*, and to the deputy-lieutenant of *Herefordſhire*, directing them to cauſe all ſuch

* *Rymer*, viii. 603. † Dated from *Northampton*, 23d *November*. *Rymer*, viii. 611.

illegal

illegal compacts to be reſcinded, and *Glyndwr* and his adherents to be purſued, and attacked with the utmoſt vigour.

From this period *Owen* never made any attempts worthy of hiſtoric notice. Numbers of his followers deſerted; which obliged him to confine himſelf to the hills, and to act entirely on the defenſive. Notwithſtanding his power was reduced, he was far from being ſubdued. The year 1410 and 1411 were paſſed without any memorable actions. The *Engliſh* were content with the eaſe the enjoyed by reſtraining the outrages of the mountaineers. *Glyndwr* maintained that extenſive tract that forms the *Alps* of our country, and kept his priſoners ſo ſecurely confined, that even *Henry*, in 1412, was under the neceſſity of permitting (by writ*) his eſquire *Llewelyn ap Hoel*, father to the noted *David Gam*, to make uſe of Sir *John Tiptofte* and *William Botiller*, to treat with *Owen* about the redemption of his ſon who was kept *forti et durâ priſona*, or to endeavour to ſeize ſome of *Glyndwr*'s friends to exchange for *Gam*. What the reſult of this affair was does not appear. It ſerves though to diſprove the opinion, that *David* eſcaped to *England* after his infamous attempt in 1402; for which, as is now evident, he ſuffered a moſt ſevere, but merited captivity of ten years, from which all the power of his *Engliſh* friends could not releaſe him.

Treaty.

The priſon of Glyndwr.

The priſon where *Owen* confined his captives was not far from his houſe, in the pariſh of *Llanſanfraid Glyndwrdwy*; and the place is to this day called *Carchardy Owen Glyndwrdwy*.

* Dated *July* 14th. *Rymer*, viii. 753.

Some remains are ſtill to be ſeen near the church, which form part of a habitable houſe. It conſiſts of a room thirteen feet ſquare, and ten and a half high. The ſides conſiſt of three horizontal beams with upright planks, not four inches aſunder, mortiſed into them. In theſe are grooves with holes in the bottom, as if there had been originally croſs-bars, or grates. The roof is exceedingly ſtrong, compoſed of ſtrong planks almoſt contiguous. It ſeems as if there had been two ſtories; but the upper part at preſent is evidently modern.

It is ſingular, that the government did not take advantage of two *Welſhmen* of rank, whom they had this year in their power, and whom they might have made the price of the liberty of their partizan. Theſe were *Rhys ap Tudur* of *Penmynydd* in *Angleſea*, and his brother. Perhaps they were taken after the treaty had its effect; perhaps their crimes were too enormous for pardon: but whatſoever the caſe was, they were both conveyed to *Cheſter*, and there put to death.

I muſt not omit, that in 1410, *Henry* prince of *Wales* gave a free pardon to certain of his tenants in the comot of *Colſhill*, in the county of *Flint*,*, for the ſhare they had in what was ſtyled the rebellion of *Glyndwr*. That county was much divided in thoſe troubles. *Howel Gwynedd*, deſcended from *Edwin* lord of *Tegengle*, a valiant gentleman, who ſided with our chieftain, was in one of the preceding years ſurprized by his enemies from the town of *Flint*. He probably was poſted within the

* *Harleian* MSS. N° 1999. 32.

trenches

trenches of *Moel y Gaer*, in the pariſh of *Northop*; on which he was without proceſs beheaded.

Henry dies.

1413.

HENRY died in the beginning of this year; and left his youthful ſucceſſor ſo engaged in his preparations for the conqueſt of *France*, as to loſe all thoughts of the entire ſubjection of his *Britiſh* dominions. *Glyndwr* remained ſtill inacceſſible; but was ſo cloſely guarded, as to ceaſe to be tremendous. The *Welſh* who had ſubmitted, now began to indulge their revenge againſt ſuch of the *Engliſh* who had ſlain, or otherwiſe injured any of their relations or friends in the late war. This revenge was taken by various kinds of diſtreſs and impriſonment, till they had cleared themſelves by compurgation, or made ſome ſatisfactory agreement. To remedy this, *Henry* the Vth, in his firſt year, aboliſhes* the *Aſſach*, or oath of 300 men, neceſſary, according to the cuſtom of *Wales*, to clear a perſon accuſed of any crime. Before that, an *Engliſhman* was liable to continue in jail for life, as it ſeems impoſſible for one of that hated nation to procure even a far leſs number of compurgators than this ſtrange law required for his acquittal. *Henry* made the attempt penal, and the proſecutor liable to an impriſonment of two years, to pay treble damages, and to pay beſide, a fine and ranſom before he could be releaſed.

Aſſach.

* Statutes at large, *Ruffhead's* ed. 484. *Par un* ASSACH *ſolune la cuſtume de* GALES *c'eſt à dire par le ſerement de* CCC *hommes*. See alſo *Leges Wallicæ*, 188. *& ſeq.*

This

This was the laſt of the many laws enacted againſt the *Welſh* on occaſion of this inſurrection. They were certainly very ſevere; yet, perhaps, no more than what any government would have directed, againſt a people that had ſubmitted to conqueſt near a hundred and twenty years, and who were conſidered in no other light than that of rebellious ſubjects. Severe laws.

On the firſt inſurrection, conciliatory methods were tried, and pardons offered. After experience of the little effect theſe had on the minds of the *Welſh*, every lenient ſtep was laid aſide, and laws of a very ſevere nature were put in force againſt them.

The firſt was in the year 1400. It was found expedient to prevent, as much as poſſible, all intercourſe between the *Welſh* and *Engliſh*. The firſt was ſtrongly attached to the cauſe of *Richard*; the laſt had many ſecret favourers of that unhappy prince amongſt them. There appeared much danger, if the former were permitted to ſtrengthen their intereſt in *England*: a coalition fatal to the new government was apprehended. As a preventative it was enacted: That no perſon born on both ſides of *Welſh* parents ſhould purchaſe lands or tenements near any of the cities or towns on the marches of *Wales* on pain of forfeiting them to the lord paramount where ſuch eſtates lay: That no *Welſhman* ſhould be received in any corporation town; or, if they had been ſettled in any ſuch before, they were to find ſecurity for their good and loyal behaviour; they were to be totally diſqualified from any civil office, and never allowed to carry any weapons.

In caſe any *Welſhman* refuſed to reſtore to any *Engliſhman* the cattle, horſes, or the like, (which he had forcibly taken) within ſeven days, the *Engliſhman* was allowed to retaliate.

So

So little truſt was there in juſtice from our countrymen, that it was enacted, that no *Engliſhman* ſhould be condemned at the ſuit of a *Welſhman*, unleſs by *Engliſh* juſtices, or *Engliſh* burgeſſes.

So greatly did the government apprehend the ſeduction of *Engliſh* loyalty by the charms of our coutrywomen, that the *Engliſh* were prohibited from marrying a *Welſhwoman*, under the pain of being diſqualified from holding any office in *Wales*.

In 1402, there is a very particular ſtatute, intended to remedy the miſchiefs reſulting from ſome cuſtoms peculiar to *Wales*. This directs, that *nul weſtour; rymour, minſtrall, ne vacabond, ſoit aucunement ſuſtenuz en la terre de* Gales, *par faire kymorthas ou coillage ſur le commune poeple illoques*. I cannot get a better tranſlation, than that in the obſervations on the antient ſtatutes by my eſteemed friend the honourable DAINES BARRINGTON; which is to this purpoſe: THAT no hoſt*, rhymer, minſtrel, or other vagabond, ſhould preſume to aſſemble or collect together.

Kymortha.

The word *kymhortha* is miſ-ſpelt from the *Welſh cymmorth*, or the plural *cymmorthau*, aſſemblies of people to aſſiſt a neighbour in any work. Such are very frequently in uſe at preſent. There are *cymmorthau* for ſpinning; for works of huſbandry; for coal-carriage. But at this time, theſe meetings were mere pretences; and their end was the collecting a

* I beg leave to render the word *weſtour* differently: It ſeems derived from the *Welſh, gweſtwr*, which ſignifies a perſon who kept a place of public entertainment; and ſuch a place was very proper for a rendezvous of this nature.

ſufficient

ſufficient number of able-bodied men to make an inſurrection. Of ſuch a nature, in old times, were the hunting matches in *Scotland*. The legiſlature in that part of *Great Britain* found the evils reſulting from them, and at length ſuppreſſed them by a law.

But *cymborthau* of our countrymen were at this period of a moſt tremendous nature. They were compoſed of men the moſt dreaded by tyrants and uſurpers; of BARDS, who animated our nation, by recalling to mind the great exploits of our anceſtors, their ſtruggles for liberty, their ſucceſsful conteſts with the *Saxon* and *Norman* race for upwards of eight centuries. They rehearſed the cruelty of their antagoniſts, and did not forget the ſavage policy of the firſt *Edward* to their proſcribed brethren. They brought before their countrymen the remembrance of antient prophecies. They ſhewed to them the hero *Glyndwr*, deſcended from the antient race of our princes; and pronounced, that in him was to be expected the completion of every prediction of our oracular MERLIN. The band of minſtrels now ſtruck up; the harp, the *crwth*, and the pipe, filled the meaſure of enthuſiaſm which the others had begun to inſpire. They ruſhed to battle, fearleſs of events, like their great anceſtry, moved by the *Druids* ſongs; and ſcorned death, which conferred immortality in reward of their valour.

Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, et ignavum eſt redituræ parcere vitæ.
LUCAN.

Hence

Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
But ruſh undaunted on the pointed ſteel:
Provoke approaching fate and bravely ſcorn
To ſpare that life which muſt ſo ſoon return.

ROWE.

We find that *Glyndwr* maintained his ſituation for two years longer. In 1415, his affairs bore ſo reſpectable an aſpect, that the king condeſcended to enter into a treaty with him; and for that purpoſe deputed, from the caſtle of *Porcheſter**, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, with full powers to negociate with *Owen*, and even to offer him and his followers a free pardon, in caſe they ſhould requeſt it. Some writers ſay, that this grace was obtained by the mediation of *David Holbetch*, deputy ſteward of the lordſhips of *Bromfield* and *Yale*. The event of this affair does not appear. It is probable that it was interrupted by the death of our hero, which happened on the 20th of *September*, on the eve of St. *Matthew*, in the ſixty firſt year of his age, at the houſe of one of his daughters; but whether that of his daughter *Scudamore* or *Monnington*, is uncertain; but, according to the tradition of the county of *Hereford*, it may be ſuppoſed to have been at that of the laſt. It is ſaid, that he was buried in the church-yard of *Monnington*; but there is no monument, or any memorial of the ſpot that contains his remains.

Death of Owen.

Both the printed hiſtories, and the manuſcript accounts, repreſent his latter end to have been very miſerable; that he wandered from place to place in the habit of a ſhepherd, in a low

* The writ is dated *July* 5th. *Rymer*, ix, 283.

and

and forlorn condition; and was even forced to take ſhelter in caves and deſert places, from the fury of his enemies *. This does not wear the face of probability; for, had his ſituation been ſo deplorable, majeſty would never have condeſcended to propoſe terms to ſuch a ſcourge as *Glyndwr* had been to his kingdom. This retreat, and the diſtreſſes he underwent, were probably after the battle of *Pwll Melyn* in 1405, from which he quickly emerged. Death alone deprived *Owen* of the glory of accepting an offered accommodation. The treaty was renewed by the ſame miniſter, on the 24th of *February* 1416, with *Meredydd ap Owen*, the ſon of *Glyndwr*; which it is to be ſuppoſed took effect, and peace was reſtored to *England*, after an indeciſive ſtruggle of more than fifteen years. Our chieftain died unſubdued; unfortunate only in foreſeeing a ſecond ſubjugation of his country, after the loſs of the great ſupporter of its independency.

Having now collected every thing in my power relating to this celebrated *Briton*, I return, by the ſame road, croſs the *Dee* at *Llangollen*; and, after a ride of about a mile, turn a little out of the road, in a fertile little vale, to the abby of

Llan-Egwest, Glyn-Egwest Monachlog, or de Valle Crucis, ſolemnly ſeated at the foot of the mountains, on a ſmall meadowy flat, watered by a pretty ſtream, and ſhaded with hanging woods. This was a houſe of *Ciſtertians*, founded in the year 1200, by *Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor*, lord of *Bromfield*, and grand- Abby of Valle Crucis.

* *Rymer*, ix. 330.

ſon by the mother's ſide to *Owen Gwynedd* prince of *Wales*. I cannot diſcover any of the endowments, further than half the tithes of *Wrexham*, beſtowed on it by *Reyner* biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, who died in 1214; and the other half, by his ſucceſſor biſhop *Abraham*, in 1227. The following biſhop, *Howel ap Ednyved*, preſented it with the church of *Llangollen* *. The monks obtained beſides the patronage of ſeveral other livings; ſuch as *Wrexham*, *Rhiwabon*, *Chirk*, *Llanſanfraid*, and *Llandegla*; but their title to theſe, as well as to *Llangollen*, was diſputed by biſhop *Anian*, commonly known by the name of *Y Brawd du o Nannau*, or the black brother of *Nanney*, a *Dominican*, conſecrated in 1268 †; who brought his cauſe before the pope's delegates, the official of *Canterbury*, and the abbot of *Tallelechew*, and obtained a deciſion in favour of him and his ſucceſſors; but as there was ſome doubt about the patronage of the church of *Llandegla*, they allotted (in lieu of it) to the abby a third of the tithes of *Bryn-Eglwys* ‡.

Revenues. The landed endowments were not inconſiderable. In the year 1291, the abbot was found to have near the monaſtery, a grange, with three ploughlands, a mill, and other conveniencies, valued at - - £. 3 0 0

The granges of *Bodhange*, *Tregam*, *Rudryn*, and *Baketon*, ſet for - 5 10 0

Alſo the dairy-farm of *Nante*, the grange of *Nuſtroyz*, *Convenet*, and *Grennychamt*, ſet for - - 3 19 8

Alſo the grange of *Wyrceſſam*, conſiſting of one ploughland and ſome paſture, valued at - - 0 15 0

And

* *Goodwin*, 657. † Idem, 658. ‡ Ibid.

And thirty cows, at the expence of thirty ſhillings.

The whole of his eſtabliſhment was fourteen pounds fourteen ſhillings and eight pence *. At the diſſolution, the revenue of the houſe was found to be (according to *Dugdale*) 188 *l. per Annum*. *Speed* makes it 214 *l.* 3 *s.* 5 *d.* The laſt abbot was *John Herne*, who received an annuity of 23*l.* on his ſurrender. This and 10*l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* in annuities to ſome ſurviving monks were the only charges remaining in 1553 †.

This place remained in the crown till the 9th of *James* I. who granted it to *Edward Wotton*, afterwards created lord *Wotton*. In 1654, we find a lady *Margaret Wotton*, a recuſant, to have been in poſſeſſion; and that it was put under ſequeſtration by orders of the commiſſioners from the ruling powers.

There ſtill remain the ruins of the church, and part of the abby: the laſt inhabited by a farmer. The church was built in form of a croſs, in different ſtyles of architecture. The moſt antient is that of the eaſt end, where the windows are in form of long and narrow ſlips, pointed at top. The window at the weſt end is large, divided by ſtone tracery; and above is a round window of elegant work. Above it is an inſcription in memory of the perſon who repaired or re-built this part: an honour frequently paid to benefactors of this kind. It is in this form; AD. ADAM. DMS. *Fecit Hoc opus. Pace Beata quieſcat.* Amen. And juſt beneath, are the letters M. D. . . probably part of the date; the reſt being loſt. We cannot aſcertain the perſon intended in this line. He Church.

* *Willis's St. Aſaph*, 178. † *Willis's* Abbies, ii. 312.

was probably one of the houſe of *Trevawr*, in which that name occurs more than once; as, *Adam* or *Adda Vawr* of *Trevawr*; and *Adam* or *Adda ap Jorwerth Ddu* of *Pengwern*.

The capitals of the pilaſters within the church, are finiſhed with elegant foliage. In the north tranſept, is a cloiſter of two arches; an arch that once contained a tomb; and near it a double *benetoire*, or holy-water pot.

Much of the building is made of the coarſe ſlaty ſtone of the country. The door and window frames of fine freeſtone.

The abbot's apartment was contiguous to the church. There opens from it a ſmall ſpace, where he might ſtand to hear the holy offices performed below.

The lower part of the abby is vaulted, and ſupported by rows of low pillars; now divided into different rooms. In front is a large window with curious ſtone tracery, which reaches to the ground. Within ſeems to have ſtood a ſmall ſtair-caſe, which led to the fratry, a paved room above the arches.

In one of the preſent bed-chambers is a ſtone (now part of a chimney-piece) carved with running foliage, with this imperfect inſcription: *Hic jacet* . . . . ARVRVET. This is the only relique of any tomb; that of the founder, who was buried here*, is no more: nor yet that of *Gryffydd ap Madoc Maelor*, lord of *Dinas Brân*; who, after ſiding with the enemies of his country, in 1270 was depoſited within theſe walls †.

About

* *Powel*, 255. 293. † Idem, 321, 327.

Pillar of Eliſeg.

About a quarter of a mile higher up the vale, in the hedge of a meadow, I met with the remainder of a round column, perhaps one of the moſt antient of any *Britiſh* inſcribed pillar now exiſting.

It was entire till the civil wars of the laſt century, when it was thrown down and broken by ſome ignorant fanatics; who thought it had too much the appearance of a croſs, to be ſuffered to ſtand. It probably bore the name of one; for the field it lies in is ſtill called *Llwyn-y-Groes*, or the Grove of the Croſs, from the wood that ſurrounded it. It was erected at ſo early a period, that there is nothing marvellous, if we ſhould perceive a tincture of the old idolatry, or at leaſt of the primeval cuſtoms of our country, in the mode of it when perfect.

The pillar never had been a croſs; notwithſtanding folly and ſuperſtition might, in later times, imagine it to have been one, and have paid it the uſual honours. It was a memorial of the dead; an improvement on the rude columns of *Druidical* times, and cut into form, and ſurrounded with inſcription. It is among the firſt lettered ſtones that ſucceeded the *Meinihirion*, *Meini-Gwyr*, and *Llechau*. It ſtood on a great *tumulus*; perhaps always environed with wood (as the mount is at preſent) according to the cuſtom of the moſt antient times, when ſtanding pillars were placed under *every green tree* *.

It is ſaid that the ſtone, when complete, was twelve feet high. It is now reduced to ſix feet eight. The remainder of the capital is eighteen

* Kings, ii. 17. See the learned *Rowlands*, 52.

teen inches long. It ſtood inſixed in a ſquare pedeſtal, ſtill lying in the mount; the breadth of which is five feet three inches: the thickneſs eighteen inches.

The beginning of the inſcription gives us nearly the time of its erection: 'Concenn filius 'Catteli, Catteli filius Brochmail, Brochmail filius 'Eliſeg, Eliſeg filius Cnoillaine, Concenn itaque 'pronepos Eliſeg edificavit hunc lapidem proavo ſuo Eliſeg.'

This *Concenn*, or *Congen*, was the grandſon of *Brochmail Yſcithroc*, the ſame who was defeated in 607 at the battle of *Cheſter* *. The letters on the ſtone were copied by Mr. *Edward Llwyd*: the inſcription is now illegible; but, from the copy taken by that great antiquary, the alphabet nearly reſembles one of thoſe in uſe in the ſixth century †.

One of the ſeats of *Concenn* and *Eliſeg* was in this country. A townſhip adjacent to the column bears, from the laſt, the name of *Eglwyſeg*; and the pictureſque tiers of rocks are called *Gliſeg* for the ſame reaſon. The habitation of this prince of *Powys* in theſe parts was probably *Dinas Brân*, which lies at the head of the vale of *Gliſeg*. Mr. *Llwyd* conjectures, that this place took its name from the interment of *Eliſeg*; by a ſimilar inſtance in the county of *Caermarthen*; where the place in which a monumental ſtone ſtands, is called *Pant y Polion*, corruptly for *Pant Pawlin*, from *Paulinus*, the perſon it was inſcribed to:

Seryator fidei patriæque ſemper amator:
Hic PAULINUS jacet cultor pientiſſimus æqui §.

There

* BEDE Hiſt. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 80.
† Vide Doctor MORTON's Table of Alphabets.
§ Vide Appendix, Mr. *Llwyd*'s Letter.

There are two ways from this pillar: the uſual is along the vale, on an excellent turnpike-road leading to *Ruthyn*; the other is adapted only for the travel of the horſemen; but far the more preferable, on account of the romantic views. I returned by *Valle Crucis*; and, after winding along a ſteep midway to the old caſtle, deſcended, and after croſſing the rill of the *Brân*, arrived in the valley of *Gliſſeg*; long and narrow, bounded on the right by the aſtoniſhing precipices, divided into numberleſs parallel ſtrata of white limeſtone, often giving birth to vaſt yew-trees: and on the left, by ſmooth and verdant hills, bordered by pretty woods. One of the principal of the *Gliſſeg* rocks is honoured with the name of *Craig-Arthur*. That at the end of the vale is called *Craig y Forwyn*, or the maiden's; is bold, precipitous, and terminates with a vaſt natural column. Valley of Gliſſeg.

This valley is chiefly inhabited (happily) by an independent race of warm and wealthy yeomanry, undevoured as yet by the great men of the country.

In order to get into the great road, I purſued a path up a ſteep aſcent to the left; and about mid-way viſited a houſe noted for being the reſidence of one *Edward Davies*, a low partizan and plunderer on the ſide of the uſurper during the civil wars. He was beſt known in his own country by the title of *Gneifiwr Glâs*, or the *Blue Shaver*, from his rapacity, and the colour of his cloaths; and was conſidered as a fit inſtrument of the tyranny of the times. In 1654, he was appointed, by the commiſſioners for ſequeſtration, ſteward of the court-leet within the manor of *Valle Crucis*, being recom- Cneifiwr Glas.

recommended to the office by colonel *George Twiſleton*. The *Cneifiwr* ſeems to have not been over-true to his own party, when his intereſt ſtood in the way. He was accuſtomed to take even the royaliſts under his protection, on receiving a proper reward. He once concealed Sir *Evan Llwyd* of *Bodidris*, at the time that a conſiderable ſum was ordered for his apprehenſion. He lodged him in a cellar below the parlour; then ſummoning his people, ordered them, in a ſeeming rage, to ſally out in queſt of Sir *Evan*, ſtamping with his foot, and declaring, that if the knight was *above ground*, he would have him.

After continuing an aſcent for a little ſpace longer, reach the paſs called *Bwlch y Rhiw Velen*, and fall again into the great road. This place is diſtinguiſhed by the deaths of two of the ſons of *Llowarch Hen* the *Cumbrian* prince of the ſixth century; who were ſlain in battle, and whoſe loſs the princely bard, their father, deplores in an elegy, of which theſe lines are a fragment.

Bwlch y Rhiw Velen.

Llowarch Hen.

Bedh GUELL yn y *Rhiw Velen*,
Bedh SAWYL yn *Llan Gollen* *.

GUELL found a grave in *Rhiw Velen*,
SAWYL, in *Llan Gollen*.

LLOWARCH HEN left his country to expel the *Saxons* and *Iriſh* out of this part of *Britain*. He leaves us ignorant of the event: all he acquaints us with is, that he loſt twelve ſons in the generous attempt.

From

* *Lhwyd*'s Archæol. 259.

From the height above *Rhiw Velen*, is a very extenſive proſpect of the hundred of *Yale*; hilly, fertile in graſs, abundant in cattle; but in this part dreary, and deſtitute of hedges and woods: banks, for the moſt part, ſupply the place of the firſt; and brakes of the latter. After ſome deſcent, croſs the *Alyn*. Here a trifling rill (which, after running for ſome time, receives much increaſe) waters the rich vales of *Mold* and *Hope*; and paſſes between the picturesque banks from near *Caergwrle* to *Gresford*, where it goes through an extenſive flat, and falls into the *Dee* midway between *Holt* and *Eaton* Boat. Leave, a little to the left, a place called *Havod yr Abad*, the ſite of one of the country-ſeats of the abbot of *Valle Crucis*. Cloſe to the road-ſide lies *Tommen y Rhodwydd*, once a fortreſs known by the name of the caſtle of *Yale* *, built by *Owen Gwynedd*, about the year 1148†. This is the place *Leland*, miſtakenly, calls a caſtle belonging to *Owen Glyndwr* ‡. It conſiſts of a vaſt artificial mount, with another ſtill loftier near one end, the keep of the place. Theſe are ſurrounded with a great foſs and rampart; and have only a ſingle entrance. At preſent, there are not the leaſt reliques of the ſuperſtructure: which was probably of wood; for we are told, that this ſhort-lived caſtelet was burnt nine years after its erection, by *Jorwerth Goch ap Meredydd* §.

It is in this manner we muſt account for the total diſappearance of many *Welſh* caſtles, whoſe names are preſerved in hiſtory; and whoſe veſtiges we have ſought for in vain. They were made of wood, as was very cuſtomary with ſeveral antient nations, and with others

Wooden Caſtles.

* *Powel*, 201. † *Powel*, 201. ‡ *Itin.* v. 35.
§ *Powel*, 208.

others of later date. The *Perſians*, on the approach of the *Spartans*, ſecured themſelves within their wooden walls: and *Cæſar* found great reſiſtance from a tower in the *Alpine* caſtle of *Larignum*, made of the timber of the *Larix*, or the *Larch*, which was found to be incombuſtible *. In later times, the caſtle of *Bamborough* was built originally by *Ida* with wood; the burgh of *Murray* was fortified by the *Danes* with the ſame material. The people of the ſame county, in 1228, had caſtles of wood †; and, a century after theſe, more recent inſtances: *William de Melton*, archbiſhop of *York* in 1317, fortified the mount in that city, called the *Old Bale*, with planks eighteen inches thick.

Whenſoever we find an antient fortreſs totally vaniſhed, and we cannot account for the diſpoſal of the materials in the erecting of any neighbouring buildings, we muſt ſuppoſe that they had been conſtructed of wood; and that they had been deſtroyed by fire, either flung into them by means of torches, or by *veltæ*, or vaſt maſſes of combuſtibles rolled againſt them by the force of numbers, as was the practice of the antient *Scandinavians*, deſcribed by *Olaus Magnus*.

Llandegla. From *Tommen y Rhodwydd* I croſſed the country for about two miles to the village of *Llandegla*, noted for its vaſt fairs for black cattle. The church is dedicated to St. *Tecla*, virgin and martyr; who, after her converſion by St. *Paul*, ſuffered under *Nero* at *Iconium*.

About

* *Vitruvius*, lib. ii. c. 9. p. 35. † *Annals Scotland*, 149.

About two hundred yards from the church, in a quillet called *Gwern Degla*, riſes a ſmall ſpring, with theſe letters cut on free-ſtone: A. GθC: G. The water is under the tutelage of the ſaint; and to this day held to be extremely beneficial in the *Clwyf Tegla*, St. *Tecla*'s diſeaſe, or the falling-ſickneſs. The patient waſhes his limbs in the well; makes an offering into it of four pence; walks round it three times; and thrice repeats the Lord's prayer. Theſe ceremonies are never begun till after ſun-ſet, in order to inſpire the votaries with greater awe. If the afflicted be of the male-ſex, like *Socrates*, he makes an offering of a cock to his *Æſculapius*, or rather to *Tecla Hygeia*; if of the fair-ſex, a hen. The fowl is carried in a baſket, firſt round the well; after that into the church-yard; when the ſame oriſons, and the ſame circum-ambulations are performed round the church. The votary then enters the church; gets under the communion-table; lies down with the Bible; under his or her head; is covered with a carpet or cloth, and reſts there till break of day; departing after offering ſix pence, and leaving the fowl in the church. If the bird dies, the cure is ſuppoſed to have been effected, and the diſeaſe transferred to the devoted victim. St. Tecla's well.

From hence I viſited the houſe of *Bodidris*, a large and antient place, belonging to *Evan Lloyd Vaughan* Eſq; of *Corſygedol*, in right of his mother *Margaret*, daughter of Sir *Evan Lloyd* baronet, the laſt male of the family: deſcended from *Ynyr ap Howel ap Moriddig ap Sandde Hardd*; who, by his valour at the battle of *Corwen*, in 1165, obtained from his prince the honourable diſtinction in his arms of four bloody Bodidris.

bloody ſtrokes, or, in the heralds phraſe, paly of eight, *or* and *gules*. For, while he was talking to his prince after the fight, with his left hand ſmeared with blood, he accidentally drew it acroſs his ſword, and left on it the marks of his four fingers. The prince obſerving this, ordered him to carry them on his ſhield; and at the ſame time beſtowed on him the townſhip of *Gelligynan* in this neighbourhood, as a more ſubſtantial mark of his favour.

BODIDRIS takes its name from *Idris*, ſon of *Llewelyn* AURDORCHOG, *or of the golden torques*, the antient lord of *Yale*. It ſtands in two counties, *Flintſhire* and *Denbighſhire*; the long table in the hall having an end in each.

Llanarmon. From hence I continued my journey to *Llanarmon*, a village whoſe church is dedicated to St. *Germans* biſhop of *Auxerre*; who, with St. *Lupus*, contributed to gain the famous *Victoria Alleluiatica* over the *Picts* and *Saxons* near *Mold*. He was a moſt popular patron, and has numbers of other churches in *Wales* under his protection. An image of an eccleſiaſtic, ſtill to be ſeen in the church-wall, is called his. In *Leland*'s days, there was a great reſort of pilgrims, and large offerings at this place*; and, probably, to this imaginary reſemblance of him.

In the church is the tomb of a grandſon of the bloody-fingered warrior above mentioned, carrying on his ſhield the arms won by his anceſtor, inſcribed around, *Hic jacet Gruſudd ap Llewelyn ap Ynyr*. At his feet lies a dog gnawing a heap of inteſtines. The tradition of the country is, that he engaged in a *cruſade* in which he

* *Leland*'s Itin. v. 35.

he loſt his life by a wound in the abdomen; that his bowels fell out, and were ſeized by a dog, as expreſſed by the ſculptor. If he fell in the romantic cauſe of the holy ſepulchre, the artiſt muſt have placed him croſs-legged, the monumental diſtinction of all ſuch knights-errant. The tomb is a cheſt cut out of one ſtone, in which his body was put, and ſent home. The lid is another ſtone, with his effigies craved out of it.

SEPULCHRAL *tumuli* are very frequent in this pariſh. I was preſent at the opening of one, compoſed of looſe ſtones and earth, covered with a layer of ſoil about two feet thick, and over that a coat of verdant turf. In the courſe of our ſearch, were diſcovered, towards the middle of the tumulus, ſeveral urns made of ſun-burnt clay, of a reddiſh colour on the outſide, black within, being ſtained with the aſhes they contained. Each was placed with the mouth downwards on a flat ſtone; above each was another, to preſerve them from being broken by the weight above. Mixed with the looſe ſtones, were numerous fragments of bones; ſuch as parts of the thigh-bones, the arm-bones, and even a ſcull. Theſe had eſcaped the effects of the fire of the funeral pile, and were depoſited about the urns; which contained the reſiduum of the corpſe, that had been reduced to pure aſhes. Tumuli.

I ſhall mention in the following pages the high antiquity of this cuſtom; that it was in uſe with the moſt poliſhed nations, with the *Greeks* and with the *Romans*, as well as with the moſt barbarous. The antient *Germans* practiſed this rite, as appears from *Tacitus* *. The *Druids* obſerved the ſame, with the wild addition

* De moribus German.

tion of whatſoever was of uſe in this life, under the notion that they would be wanted by the deceaſed in the world below; and in confirmation of this, arms, and many ſingular things, of unknown uſe, are to this day diſcovered beneath the places of antient ſepulture †.

The remote *Sarmatæ*, and all the *Scandinavian* nations, agreed in the burning of the dead; and the *Danes* diſtinguiſhed by this, and the different funeral ceremonies, three ſeveral epochs ‡.

The firſt, which was the ſame with that in queſtion, was called *Roiſold* and *Brende-tiide*, or the age of burning.

The ſecond was ſtyled *Hoigold*, and *Hoielſe-tiide*, or the age of *tumuli*, or hillocks. The corpſe at this period was placed entire, with all the ornaments which graced it during life. The bracelets, or arms, and even the horſe of the departed hero, were placed beneath the heap. Money, and all the rich property of the deceaſed, uſed to be buried with him, from the perſuaſion that the ſoul was immortal ‖, and would ſtand in need of theſe things in the other life. Such was the notion both of the *Gauls* and of the northern nations. Among the laſt, when pyracy was eſteemed honourable, theſe illuſtrious robbers directed that all their rich plunder ſhould be depoſited with their remains §, in order to ſtimulate their offſpring to ſupport themſelves, and the glory of their name, by deeds of arms. Hence it is we hear of the vaſt riches diſcovered in ſepulchres, and of

† *Mela*, lib. iii. c. 2.

‡ Wormii Mon. Danic. 40. ‖ *Pomponius Mela*, lib. iii. c. 2. § *Bartholinus* Antiq. *Dan.* 438.

of the frequent violation of the remains of the dead, in expectation of treaſures, even for centuries after this cuſtom had ceaſed.

The third age was called *Chriſtendoms-old*, when the introduction of Chriſtianity put a ſtop to the former cuſtoms: for 'Chriſtians,' as the learned phyſician of *Norwich* obſerves, 'abhorred this ſpecies of obſequies; and though 'they ſtickt not to give their bodies to be burnt 'in their lives, deteſted that mode after death; 'affecting rather depoſiture than abſumption, 'and properly ſubmitted unto the ſentence of 'GOD, to return not unto aſhes, but to duſt 'again.'

From the remarks of theſe able writers, we may learn the time of the abolition of the cuſtom of burning among the ſeveral nations; for it ceaſed with paganiſm. It therefore fell firſt into diſuſe with the *Britons*; for it was for ſome time retained by the *Saxons* after their conqueſt of this kingdom; but was left off on their receiving the light of the goſpel. The *Danes* retained the cuſtom of urn-burial the laſt of any: for of all the northern nations who had any footing in theſe kingdoms, they were the lateſt who embraced the doctrines of Chriſtianity.

I cannot eſtabliſh any criterion by which a judgment may be made of the people to whom the different ſpecies of urns and tumuli belonged, whether they are *Britiſh*, *Roman*, *Saxon*, or *Daniſh*.

Some of the tumuli conſiſt of heaps of naked ſtones, ſuch as thoſe in the iſle of *Arran*; in many parts of *Scotland*; and in ſome parts of *Cornwall*.

Others

Others are compoſed, like this of *Llanarmon*, with ſtones and earth, nicely covered with earth and ſod. Of theſe the baſe is in certain places level with the ground, in others, ſurrounded with a trench: they were ſometimes formed of earth only. Others are of a conoid form, and ſome oblong; of which there is an example in the neighbourhood of *Bryn y pys*, called the *Giant's Grave*. Finally, other places of antient ſepulture conſiſted only of a flat area, encompaſſed, like the *Druidical* circles, with upright ſtones; and ſuch were thoſe of *Ubbo*, and of king *Harald*, in *Sweden* *.

The urns are alſo found placed in different manners, with the mouth reſting downwards upon a flat ſtone, ſecured by another above; or with the mouth upwards, guarded in a like way.

Very frequently the urns are diſcovered lodged in a ſquare cell compoſed of flags. Sometimes more than one of theſe cells are found beneath a *carn* or *tumulus*. I have met with, near *Dapplin* in *Perthſhire*, not fewer than ſeventeen, diſpoſed in a circular form †. When numbers are found together, the tumulus was either a family-cemetery, or might have contained the reliques of a number of heroes who periſhed with glory in the ſame cauſe: for ſuch honours were paid only to the great and good.

The urns found in theſe cells are uſually ſurrounded with the fragments of bones that had reſiſted the fire; for the friends of the deceaſed were particularly careful to collect every particle; which

* *Suecia* Antiqua et Hodierna, *tab.* 315. † Tour in *Scotland*, iii. 106.

which they place, with the remains of the charcoal, about the urns, thinking the neglect the utmoſt impiety. We have no certainty of the ceremonies uſed by the antient *Britons* on theſe mournful occaſions; but, from many circumſtances which we continually diſcover in our tumuli, there appear many, analogous to thoſe uſed in antient *Greece* and *Rome*.

The *Greeks* firſt quenched the funeral pile with wine, and the companions or relations of the departed performed the reſt. Such was the ceremony at the funeral of *Patroclus*.

Where yet the embers glow,
Wide o'er the pile the ſable wine they throw,
And deep ſubſides the aſhy heap below.
Next the white bones his ſad companions place,
With tears collected in the golden vaſe.
The ſacred reliques to the tent they bore;
The urn a veil of linen cover'd o'er.
That done, they bid the ſepulchre aſpire,
And caſt the deep foundations round the pyre;
High in the midſt they heap the ſwelling bed
Of riſing earth, memorial of the dead *.

POPE.

The duty of collecting the bones and aſhes fell to the next of kin. Thus, *Tibullus* pathetically entreats death to ſpare him in a foreign land, leſt he ſhould want the tender offices of his neareſt relations:

* *Iliad*, lib. xxiii. L.

Me tenet ignotis ægrum *Phæacia*, terris
Abſtineas avidas, mors violenta, manus!
Abſtineas, mors atra! precor, non hic mihi mater,
Quæ legat in mæſtos oſſa peruſta ſinus.
Non ſoror, *Aſſyrios* cineri quæ dedat odores,
Et fleat effuſis ante ſepulcra comis.
DELIA non uſquam *.

Here §, languiſhing beneath a foreign ſky,
An unknown victim to diſeaſe, I lie;
In pity, then, ſuſpend thy lifted dart,
Thou tyrant, Death; nor pierce my throbbing heart:
No mother near me, her laſt debt to pay,
Collect my bones, my aſhes bear away;
No ſiſter o'er my funeral pile ſhall mourn,
Nor mix *Aſſyrian* incenſe in my urn:
Nor, *Delia*, thou, oh thou my ſoul's firſt care!
Shall with thy dear, diſhevell'd locks, be there.
R. W.

I beg leave to add the account given by *Virgil* of the funereal rites of *Pallas* †. We find in it many ceremonies that were uſed by the northern nations. Animals of different ſpecies were burnt or depoſited with the body. The ſpoils of war, and weapons of various kinds, were placed on the pile; the bones and aſhes were collected together; and a heap of earth, or a *tumulus*, flung over them. Each of theſe circumſtances are continually diſcovered in our barrows. Horns, and other reliques of quadrupeds, weapons of braſs and of ſtone, all placed under the very ſame ſort of tombs as are deſcribed by *Homer* and *Virgil*.

Perhaps

* *Elegia*, lib. i. el. 3. † In *Phæacia*.
‡ Lib. xi. l. 184.

Perhaps the other ceremonies were not omitted; but we have no record that will warrant us to aſſert that they were in all reſpects ſimilar.

Jam pater *Æneas*, &c.

The *Tuſcan* chief and *Trojan* prince command,
To raiſe the funeral ſtructures on the ſtrand.
Then to the piles, as antient rites ordain,
Their friends convey the relicks of the ſlain.
From the black flames the ſullen vapours riſe,
And ſmoak in curling volumes to the ſkies.
The foot thrice compaſs the high-blazing pyres;
Thrice move the horſe, in circles, round the fires.
Their tears, as loud they howl at ev'ry round,
Dim their bright arms, and trickle to the ground.
A peal of groans ſucceeds; and heav'n rebounds
To the mixt cries, and trumpet's martial ſounds.
Some, in the flames, the wheels and bridles throw,
The ſwords and helmets of the vanquiſh'd foe:
Some, the known ſhields their brethren bore in vain,
And unſucceſsful jav'lins of the ſlain.
Now round the piles the bellowing oxen bled,
And briſtly ſwine: in honour of the dead,
The fields they drove, the fleecy flocks they ſlew,
And on the greedy flames the victims threw.

PITT.

Since I am engaged in this funebrious ſubject, it will be fit to obſerve, that a diſcovery of an entire ſkeleton, placed between flags of a proportionable ſize, was made near this place.

This, as well as others ſimilar in different parts of our iſlands, evinces that the antient inhabitants did not always commit their bodies to the fire: for, beſides this inſtance, a ſkeleton thus incloſed was found in one of the *Orknies* *, and others in the ſhire of *Murray*; and with one of the laſt was found an urn with aſhes, and ſeveral pieces of charcoal †; which ſhews, that each practice was in uſe in the ſame age.

From *Llanarmon* I continued my journey along the bad roads of that pariſh. The country now grows more contracted, by the approximation of the hills. On one ſide are the rocky ledges of limeſtone, in the townſhip of *Tre'r Yrys*, rich in lead-ore; and which is ſuppoſed to have taken its name from *Gyrys*, who made the firſt collection of *Welſh* proverbs, known by the name of *Mad-waith hên Gyrys o Yâl*, or the good work of old *Gyrys* of *Yale*.

On the left are the *Clwydian* hills, which divide this country from the vale of *Clwyd*. Theſe are cultivated pretty high; are free from rocks; covered with heath.

There is a *Bwlch*, or paſs through theſe hills, of a moſt remarkable name, lying between the ſummits called *Moel Eithinen*, and *Moel Fenlli*, in this pariſh. This is called *Bwlch Agricla*, or the paſs of *Agricola*; and, ſince there is no other tranſlation to be given to the *Welſh* word, we may conjecture this to have been his paſſage to *Mona*. That the *Romans* were in after-times reſident in theſe parts, is evident from the number

* Letter from the Rev. Mr. *Low* of *Birſa*.

† Tour *Scotl.* 1769, quarto ed.

number of coins found in the neighbourhood, particularly in the pariſh of *Llanverres*, where abundance of *Denarii* have been met with.

MOEL FENLLI, or *Benlli*'s hill, is remarkable for having on it a ſtrong *Britiſh* poſt, guarded as uſual by dikes and foſſes. This probably was poſſeſſed by a chieftain of that name; for *Nennius* * ſpeaks of ſuch a *regulus* of the country of *Yale*; but, as too uſual with our antient hiſtorians, blends ſo ridiculous a legend with the mention of him, as would deſtroy belief of his exiſtence, did not the hill remain a poſſible evidence. St. *Germanus*, ſays the abbot, deſigned to make this *Benlli* a viſit; but meeting with a moſt inhoſpitable reception, was kindly entertained by a ſervant of the king in his humble cottage; who killed his only calf, dreſſed, and placed it before the ſaint and his companions. This goodneſs met with its reward; for lo! the next morning the identical calf was found alive and well with its mother.

A little beyond this paſs, entered the pariſh of *Llanverres*, rich in mineral. Paſs through the village, and by the church. The laſt is dedicated to St. *Berres (Britius)* diſciple of St. *Martin* the *Hungarian*, and his ſucceſſor in the biſhoprick of *Tours*, the latter end of the fourth century. The church at this time was rebuilding, chiefly by the bounty of Mrs. *Catherine Jones* of *Clommendy*.

The eaſt end of the old church was repaired in 1650, by Dr. *John Davis*, the author of the *Welſh-Latin* dictionary, a moſt ſkilful antiquary; native of this pariſh.

In

* C. xxx. xxxi.

In the courſe of my ride, croſs the turnpike-road between *Mold* and *Ruthyn*; which, after a long aſcent, paſſes *Bwlch Pen-y-Barras*, a ſpot extremely worthy of the traveller's attention, on account of the beautiful view over the vale of *Clwyd*.

My route this time led me eaſtward, along the great road, into the county of

FLINT.

This ſpot being confirmed to it by the event of a moſt expenſive law-ſuit, by the court of exchequer, in 1763, between the *Groſvenour* family and the lords of the manor of *Mold*: the firſt claiming it as part of his mineral grant of the hundred of *Yale*; the others affirming it to be part of the county of *Flint*, and within the pariſh of *Mold*. The deciſion, which was in favour of the lords of *Mold*, is recorded on an arch over a noted ſtone, called *Carreg Carn Marçh Arthur*; which was then adjudged to be the boundary of the pariſh of *Mold* in the county of *Flint*, and of *Llanverres* in that of *Denbigh*.

I continued along the great road; and, within two miles of *Mold*, hung long over the charming vale which opens with exquiſite beauty from *Vron*, the ſeat of the ingenious *Richard Williams* Eſquire. *Cambria* here lays aſide her majeſtic air, and condeſcends to aſſume a gentler form, in order to render leſs violent her approaching union with her *Engliſh* neighbour. It were to be wiſhed ſhe had acted with more moderation, and not outſhone it at a rate, the moſt partial *Saxon* muſt allow it to have done.

This

This was antiently called *Yſtrad-Alun*, or the *Strath* of the *alun*; a comot in the cantref *Y Rhiw*: inhabited by a hardy race, at perpetual feud with the men of *Cheſhire* on one ſide, and the men of *Yale* on the other: for my countrymen never ſuffered their active ſwords to ruſt; in default of *Saxon*, they would take up with the blood of their *Cambrian* neighbours.

On the firſt regulation of the *Welſh* counties by *Henry* VIII. this vale, then called *Moleſdale*, with the continuation of it which went under the name of *Hopeſdale*, were annexed to the county of *Denbigh*; but, in the 33d year of the ſame monarch, were given to *Flintſhire*.

Almoſt the whole is ſeen from this ſpot; a delicious compoſition of rich land finely bounded by gentle riſings, watered by the *Alun*, and varied with a pretty town and fine church in the middle; with numbers of ſeats, groves, and well-cultivated farms. Among the former appears conſpicuous, *Leeſwood*, the creation of the late Sir *George Wynne*, riſing palace-like along a fine ſlope on the ſouth-ſide of the vale, ſurrounded with woods and lawns; a ſad *Mauſoleum* of fugacious wealth! The diſtant view is not leſs beautiful. The three fine eſtuaries of the *Dee*, *Weever*, and *Merſey*, the hills of *Cheſhire*, and the more remote range of thoſe of *Shropſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Cumberland*, complete this beautiful ſcene.

From hence to the town of *Mold* is a pleaſant ride. *Mold* conſiſts principally of one broad and handſome ſtreet on a gentle riſing, in the midſt of a ſmall but rich plain. The church is placed on an eminence; and is of the

time of *Henry* VIII. adorned with a very handſome ſteeple built of late years. Before the Reformation, it belonged to the abby of *Buſtleſham*, or *Byſham*, in *Berkſhire*. The living is a vicarage, and has dependent on it the chapelries of *Nerquys* and *Treuddyn*.

The architecture of the church is of the gothic of that period; the windows large, and their arches obtuſe. Within and without, is a row of animals carved, as uſual at that period. The ſame may be obſerved on the old building over St. *Winifrede*'s well. The inſide is extremely elegant; conſiſts of a nave and two ailes, ſupported by ſeven arches, whoſe pillars are much to be admired for their lightneſs. They conſiſt of four round pilaſters, with the intermediate ſpace hollowed, and the capitals elegantly carved. Between the ſprings of every arch is an angel holding a ſhield, on which are either the arms of the benefactors, or the inſtruments of the Paſſion. The arms of the *Stanlies*, who long poſſeſſed this manor, are very frequent. Among the other ſculptures, is the *Veronica*, or face of our Saviour impreſſed on a handkerchief given to him by a woman on his way to the place of crucifixion. He took it, wiped his face, and returned it with the miraculous impreſſion. This precious relique is preſerved in St. *Peter*'s at *Rome*, and the woman worſhipped as a ſaint, under the name of the *Handkerchief*; which at firſt was called the *Vera Icon*, or true image; but becoming thus perſonified, received the title of St. *Veronica*. Beneath two windows above the chancel, are carved in a rude manner, the nails, pincers, and other tokens of the crucifixion.

At

At the eaſtern ends of the two ailes are three gothic niches elegantly carved. They formerly were filled with images, now deſtroyed. The two in the ſouth aile are almoſt hid with monuments. Among them is a very ſuperb one in memory of *Robert Davies*, Eſq; of *Llanerch*, with his figure in a ſtanding attitude, and dreſſed in a *Roman* habit.

Near it is a mural monument of his anceſtor, another *Robert Davies*, of *Gwyſaney**, the paternal ſeat of the family, and the reſidence, before the acquiſition of *Llanerch* in the vale of *Clwyd*, by the marriage of this gentleman with *Anne* daughter and heireſs to Sir *Peter Mutton* knight.

Not far from *Mold* ſtands *Gwyſaney*; a moſt reſpectable old houſe, beautifully ſituated. It was of ſtrength ſufficient to be garriſoned, in the time of the civil wars; and was taken, on the 12th of *April* 1645, by Sir *William Brereton*†.

Near this is an antient mural monument, in memory of *Robert Warton*, alias *Parfew*. He was firſt abbot of *Bermondſey*, and elected to the ſee of St. *Aſaph* in 1536. He lived much at *Denbigh* and *Wrexham* during his continuance in this ſee‡; and was removed to that of *Hereford* in 1554, where he died in 1557. He was unjuſtly accuſed of impairing the revenues of this dioceſe: on the contrary, it appears, that he had been a conſiderable benefactor to the churches of *Gresford*, *Wrexham*, and *Mold*; which, probably, he found in an unfiniſhed ſtate. He was interred at *Hereford*, under a handſome tomb with his effigies; but this Monuments.

* This gentleman died in 1666: the preceding, in *May* 1728. † *Whitelock*, 142. ‡ *Willis's Bangor*, 341. *Cathedrals*, i. 521. *Athenæ Oxon.* i. 682.

grateful

grateful memorial of his benevolence to the church of *Mold* was erected, as an inſcription beneath once informed, by one *John ap Rys. Hoc opus factum fuerit, per John ap Rys.* Above are his arms in a ſhield, quartered with thoſe of the ſee of St *Aſaph*; and over them a label, inſcribed, *Robtus pmiſſione Davinâ Epus* ASSAV. An angel ſupports one end; a biſhop the other.

The epitaph on the reverend Doctor *Wynne*, compoſed by himſelf, ſeveral years before his deceaſe, merits publication.

WILLIAM WYNNE of *Tower*, D. D.
Some time fellow of *All-Souls* College in *Oxford*,
and rector of *Llanvechan* in this diocese,
departed this life
aged *
In conformity to an antient uſage,
from a proper regard to decency,
and a concern for the health of his
fellow-creatures, he was moved to give
particular directions for being buried
in the adjoining church-yard,
and not in the church.
And, as he ſcorned flattering of others
while living, he has taken care to prevent
being flattered himſelf when dead,
by cauſing this ſmall memorial to be
ſet up in his life-time.
GOD, be merciful to me a ſinner!
Heb DDUW, *Heb ddim.*

* He died *March* 3d 1776, aged 77. This, now fills theſe blanks.

At

At the north-end of the town ſtands the mount, to which it owes the *Britiſh* and *Latin* names, YR WYDDGRUG, and MONS ALTUS, *the lofty* or *conſpicuous mount*. This is partly natural, partly artificial. Our *Britiſh* anceſtors, and afterwards the *Saxons* and *Normans*, taking the advantage of ſo defenſible an eminence, cut it into form, and placed on it a caſtle. It is poſſible, that the *Romans* might alſo have had ſome concern in it; for a beautiful gold coin of *Veſpaſian* was found here; but this being the only proof of its having been poſſeſſed by them, I ſhall not inſiſt on it any farther than to urge the probability; *Mold* being in the neighbourhood of many of their mines, and of places where much of their money has been found.

The mount is now called the *Bailey*-hill, from the word *Ballium* or yard, or caſtle-yard. It appears to have been ſtrongly fortified by great ditches, notwithſtanding its arduous aſſent. It is divided into three parts: the lower *Ballium* or yard; the upper; and the keep, or *Donjon*. The tops of the two firſt are levelled by art; and all are ſeparated by deep foſſes. The keep was on a part greatly and artificially elevated; and around its edges are a few ſtones, the only reliques of the fortreſs. On one ſide of the upper yard are found vaſt quantities of bones, ſome human; others of animals, moſtly domeſtic, ſuch as of oxen, ſheep, horſes and hogs; and a few remnants of horns of ſtags and roe-bucks.

The ſummit of this hill commands a ſhort but moſt exquiſite view of the circumjacent vale; and to the weſt, *Moel famma* riſes with aweful pre-eminence among the *Clwydian* hills.

The

The firſt certain account I have of this place is in the reign of *William Rufus*, when we find it in poſſeſſion of *Euſtace Cruer**, who then did homage for *Mold* and *Hopedale*; he probably, having been the perſon that raviſhed them from the antient owners.

In the end of the reign of *Henry* I. or the beginning of that of *Stephen*, *Robert*, called, from his reſidence at this place, *de Montalto*, high ſteward of *Cheſter*, and one of the barons of the *Norman* earls, became owner of it. We are informed, that the caſtle was at this time very ſtrong; and that it had often been beſieged; but never taken, till the *Welſh*, no longer able to bear the ravages of the garriſon, 1144. attempted, in 1144, the reduction of it, under the conduct of their gallant prince *Owen Gwynedd*. The garriſon, for a conſiderable time, defended the place with great courage; but at length it was taken by ſtorm; part of the defendants ſlain, the others taken priſoners, and the fortreſs razed to the ground †.

1198. After this it was again reſtored: for we find in the *æræ Cambro-Britannicæ* ‡, that it was taken, in the winter, 1198, by *Llewelyn ap Jorwerth*: and about the year 1267 it was a third time beſieged, taken, and demoliſhed, by *Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn*, lord of *Powis*.

The gentry of *Yſtrad-alun* or *Moleſdale* were among the principal complainants of wrongs done to them by *Roger de Clifford*, juſticiary of *Cheſter*, and his deputy *Roger Scrochil*, a little

* *Powel*, 151. † Idem, 199. ‡ At the end of *Ll-wyd*'s Commentariolum, 157.

before

before our ſubjection by *Edward* I. They alleged, that their lands were taken from them; that they were grievouſly and unjuſtly fined on trivial occaſions; and that, after paying a ſum for exemption from *Engliſh* laws, they were obliged to ſubmit to a trial by jury, or by twelve men, contrary to the uſage of their country.*

Much of the country was, in this reign, ſo covered with woods, that *Edward*, before his conqueſt of *Wales*, was obliged to cut a paſſage through them, in the tract between *Mold* and a place then called *Swerdewood*; and to direct, that nothing ſhould be required for the damage done to the owners †. I find he called in a number of cutters for this purpoſe; and in the next year, not fewer than two hundred cutters and colliers *(carbonarii)* who were ſummoned out of the foreſt of *Dean*, and the county of *Hereford*, under the conduct of *Gilbert de Clare* earl of *Gloſter*.

In the year 1322, Sir *Gryffydd Llwyd*, a valiant gentleman, who was knighted by *Edward* I. on bringing the news of the birth of his ſon *Edward* of *Caernarvon*; and who, after our conqueſt, adhered to the *Engliſh*, till he thought their yoke intolerable; roſe in arms, over-run all *North Wales* and the *Marches*; and, among others, ſeized on this caſtle; but his attempt was unſucceſsful, being defeated and taken priſoner ‡.

* *Powel*, 356. † *Rotuli Walliæ*, 75. Anno 9 *Edwardi* I. *Febr.* 5. 128. We find a ſimilar order in *Rymer*. ‡ *Powel*, 383. *Wynn*, 313.

From

From this time we hear no more of it as a place of defence. *Mathew Paris* and *Dugdale** confound it with *Hawarden*, and aſſert it to have been attacked or taken by *David*, brother to the laſt *Llewelyn*. *Mold* continued in poſſeſſion of the poſterity of *Robert*, who did
1302. homage for it in 1302, at *Cheſter*, to *Edward*
1327. prince of *Wales*; but in 1327, the laſt baron, in default of male iſſue, conveyed it to *Iſabel*, queen of *Edward* II. for life; and afterwards to *John* of *Eltham*, younger brother to *Edward* III; who died without iſſue, and his poſſeſſions reverted to the crown.

I am uncertain how long the crown reſerved this lordſhip. I find it was granted to the *Stanley* family, perhaps to Sir *John Stanley*, by *Henry* IV. at the ſame time that he beſtowed on him *Hope* and *Hopedale*. The earls of *Derby* poſſeſſed it till the execution of earl *James*; after which, both the manor of *Hope* and *Mold* were purchaſed by certain perſons, who enjoyed them till the Reſtoration: after that event, a reference was made by his majeſty, in 1662, to the lords, reſpecting the re-purchaſe of thoſe manors by the earl of *Derby*; in which it had been agreed by his lordſhip, to pay the parties, on the 26th of *March* 1664, the ſum of eleven thouſand pounds, and to be put into full poſſeſſion of the manors. The lords imagined that every thing had been adjuſted; but the earl of *Derby* refuſing to perform his part, the referrees laid the affair before the king; who, on the 14th of *June* 1664, ordered that the former purchaſers ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion. The *Derby* family, by ſome means,

* *M. Paris*, 885. *Dugdale Baron.* i. 527.

regained

regained the lordſhip of *Hope*; but that of *Mold* is at preſent the property of lady *Vincent*. The mineral advantages of the manor, which have, at times, been very conſiderable, are equally divided between her ladyſhip, the *Trevors*, and Mr. *Lloyd* of *Tyddyn*.

From *Mold*, I took the weſt ſide of the vale; a tract filled with numbers of gentlemen's ſeats of independent fortunes, as yet not caught and abſorbed in the gulphy vortex of our *Leviathans*. Theſe are the remnants of the cuſtom of gavel kind, ſo prevalent formerly in *North Wales*, and which have remained unimproved by thoſe accidents which, by time and chance, happen to many. I digreſſed a little to the right, to the magnificient gates of *Leeſwood*, the ſeat of the late Sir *George Wynne* baronet: and a little higher up to *Tower*, to enjoy the witty, the lively and agreeable converſation of the reverend Doctor *William Wynne* (now departed). This gentleman was one of thoſe who kept the patrimony derived from a long train of anceſtors, without increaſe, yet without impair. The houſe is ſmall; but part of it is a true ſpecimen of the border houſes on the confines of *England* and *Scotland*: a ſquare tower of three ſtories. In the lower, ſtill remains a ſtaple in the cieling; a memorial of the rudeneſs of the times. During the wars between the houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, this place was inhabited by *Reinallt ap Gryffydd ap Bleddyn*, one of the ſix gallant captains who defended *Harlech* caſtle on the part of *Henry* VI. He and his people were in continual feud with the citizens of *Cheſter*. In 1465, a conſiderable number of the latter came to *Mold* fair; a fray enſued between the two parties; a dreadful ſlaughter Tower.

was

was made on both ſides: but *Reinallt* got the victory; took priſoner *Robert Bryne* linen-draper, and mayor of *Cheſter* in 1461, whom he led to his tower, and hung on the ſtaple in his great hall. An attempt was made afterwards to ſeize *Reinallt*; and two hundred tall men ſallied from *Cheſter* for that purpoſe. He retired from his houſe to a neighbouring wood, permitted part of his enemies to enter the building; then ruſhing from his cover, faſtened the door; and, ſetting fire to the place, burnt them without mercy: he then attacked the reſt, purſued them to the ſea-ſide, where thoſe who eſcaped the ſword, periſhed in the channel. His actions were celebrated at the time, in poems ſtill extant; particularly by *Lewis Glyn Cothi*, in an *Awdl**, in praiſe of *Reinallt*. It ſeems *Lewis* had married a widow of *Cheſter*, againſt the conſent of the inhabitants; who ſpoiled him of all his effects. This whetted the poet's ſatyr: 'Who 'ſummons the miniſtry of angels and devils 'to his aſſiſtance; and pours a profuſion 'of curſes on *Caer Lleon* and its people. 'He wiſhes water to drown, fire to burn, and 'air to infect the hated place; and that graſs 'might grow in every part, except the ſacred 'edifices, of this habitation of the ſeven deadly ſins.'

The TOWER, in old times, was called after the name of this hero. It was alſo named *Bryan-coed*, from the wood that might have ſurrounded it. In the time of *Leland* it was inhabited by *John Wynn ap Robert*.

*A *Cywydd* and an *Awdl* differ in theſe reſpects: the firſt conſiſts of couplets generally of ſeven ſyllables; the laſt of ſtanzas of different lengths of metre; ſomewhat like a *Pindaric* ode.

I de-

I deſcended into my former road, and paſſed along the courſe of the *Terrig*, or the *violent*; at this time a trifling brook; but often of a tremendous ſwell and fury. On quitting its channel, go by *Leeſwood*, or *Coed-Llai*, the antient ſeat of my worthy relation *Thomas Eyton* eſquire. The *Davieſes* of *Gwaſaney*, the *Wynnes* of *Tower*; and this family, ſprung from *Kynrig Evell*, or *the Twin*, ſon of *Madoc ap Meredydd* prince of lower *Powys**. He was ſtyled lord of *Eglwyſeg*; and had beſide, for his portion, *Moleſdale*, and *Treuddyn* in the pariſh of *Mold*; which, by the cuſtom of gavel kind, became divided among his poſterity; part of which, theſe families, his deſcendants, ſtill enjoy. Terrig.

Farther on is *Hartſheath*, the houſe of *Guillim Wardle* eſquire, deſcended, by the female line, from the *Lloyds* of the ſame place. It is moſt beautifully ſeated on a long riſing, inſulated by the vale, and finely wooded and cultivated. The houſe ſtands on the ſouthern extremity, and commands a moſt elegant view of the valley, divided by the inſulated rock of *Caergwrle*, ſoaring out of the valley, and capped with a ruined caſtle.

A little further up the vale ſtands *Plâs-Têg*; a ſingular houſe, belonging to the *Trevors*; but, for numbers of years, occupied by farmers. The *Trevors* acquired it by the marriage of *Robert Trevor* of *Brynkinallt*, with *Katherine* daughter of *Llewelyn ap Ithel* of the *Mold* and *Plâs-Têg*. It is built with great regularity and ſimple grandeur. In the centre is a hall forty-three feet long by twenty-three. A ſpacious ſtair-caſe; and above, is a dining room of the ſame dimenſions with the hall, and twelve feet nine inches high. At each Plas-Tec.

* *Madoc* died in 1160.

corner of the houſe is a ſquare wing or tower, conſiſting (as does the centre) of five floors. In each is a room twenty-two feet ſix, by nineteen ſix: and within each of theſe rooms a cloſet thirteen feet ſeven inches ſquare.

This houſe was built in 1610 by Sir *John Trevor**, a ſecond ſon of the branch of *Trevalun*. The deſign is attributed to *Inigo Jones*; but I doubt the tradition. It wants both the *Grecian*-gothic ornaments of his worſe days, and the pure *Grecian* of his beſt.

Caergwrle. From hence I purſued my journey to *Caergwrle*, a village on the banks of *Alun*, in the pariſh of *Hope* or *Eſtyn*, whoſe form ſpeaks it to have been a *Roman* ſtation, which appears very evident to the antiquarian eye, from the ſummit of the adjacent rock, the ſite of the caſtle. The precincts ſhew themſelves to have been rectangular, with one ſide formed by the ſlope along the banks of the river. Here is yet preſerved the antient diſpoſition, in three broad ſtreets, running parallel, and three narrower interſecting them at right angles. It had been only a ſmall place, an out-poſt to *Deva*; but had the uſual concomitants of *Roman* luxury. In *Camden*'s time (1606) a *hypocauſt* was diſcovered near the place five ells long, four broad, and half an ell high, cut out of the live rock. The floor was of brick ſet in mortar: the roof ſupported by brick pillars; and conſiſted of poliſhed tiles, perforated; on theſe were laid certain brick tubes which conveyed the heat to the the room above. On ſome of thoſe tiles were inſcribed LEGIO XX†. which point out the founders. I have alſo been credibly informed, that *Roman* bricks were found in the ruins of the old houſe of *Hope*,

Roman.

* Epitaph in *Hope* church. † *Camden*, ii. 828.

the

the ſeat of the family of the ſame name. I have alſo heard, that large beds of iron cinders have been diſcovered near *Caer Eſtyn* in this pariſh, the ſuppoſed works of the *Romans*.

Beſides theſe proofs, here is the trace of a *Roman* road, pointing from the village towards *Mold*, and is viſible in two or three places; eſpecially in the fields on this ſide of *Plâs-têg*. I think that part of the preſent road was a portion of the *Roman*. An artificial mount ſtands cloſe on its courſe. Another road points towards *Hawarden*; which increaſes my ſuſpicion of that having alſo been a *Roman* out-poſt. As the word *ſtreet* is generally a ſign of a *Roman* road, there might have been a third on the *Wrexham* ſide of *Caergwrle*; for we find on that road, *Croes y ſtreet* paſſing over a place called *Cefn y Bêdd*, or the hill of the grave, and leading to the caſtle. Theſe roads were one way into ſome of the mineral parts of *Wales* where *Roman* money had been found. Roads

Mr. Edwards makes a happy conjecture reſpecting the etymology of the name of this place. *Caer Gawr Lle*, or the camp of the *Giant Legion*, *Lleon Gawr*; for the *Britons* beſtowed that title on the twentieth legion, to imply its power; a turn analogous to *Victrix*, giving it the ſtrength of a giant*.

This place, in the diviſion of *Wales* by *Roderic* the great, formed part of the *Cantref y Rhiw*. When the *Saxons* made a conqueſt of our borders, they comprehended it in their

* This give riſe to the fable of *Cheſter* of having been built by *Lleon Gawr*, a mighty giant. See p. 106. Mr. Camden, by miſtake, calls the legion *Leon Vawr*.

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hundred called *Exaſtan*, and added it to the county of *Cheſter*. We find in the Doomſday-book, that *Hope* (which gives name to the pariſh) was held at that period by one *Giſlebert*; before by *Edwevin* a freeman. In after times, this tract was known by the name of *Hopedale*. On the diviſion of *Wales* into counties by *Edward* I. it was annexed to *Flintſhire*; was ſevered from it, and added to *Denbighſhire* by *Henry* VIII.; and in the ſame reign, reſtored to the former county. It is a common notion in the country, that the laſt was effected by the intereſt of the earl of *Derby*, in order to have his *Welſh* eſtates in the ſame county; for at that time, the family was poſſeſſed of *Hawarden*, *Moleſdale*, and this *manor*; which had been granted, on *January* 1ſt 1401, by *Henry* IV. to Sir *John Stanley*. The family had at the ſame time, the lordſhip of *Maelor Saeſneg*, which was a portion of *Flintſhire* ſince its firſt being formed into a county. This manor of *Hope* is the only one poſſeſſed at preſent in *Wales* by the earl of *Derby*.

Caſtle. The caſtle of *Caergwrle* ſtood on the ſummit of a great rock, precipitous on one ſide, and of ſteep aſcent on the others. Some of the walls, and part of a round tower ſtill remain, ſufficient to ſhew, that its ſize was never great. Cloſe to it, on the acceſſible parts, it was protected by very deep foſſes cut through the rock. On the north-eaſt ſide, there is a pretty extenſive area; and round its verge the veſtiges of a rampart of earth and ſtones, and a foſs, ſuch as uſual in the *Britiſh* poſts: it may be therefore ſuppoſed, that it had been poſſeſſed by the *Britons* in early times; and that it ſerved to de-

fend, in conjunction with *Caer Eſtyn*, a *Britiſh* poſt of one rampart and ditch on the oppoſite ſide of the dale above the village; the entrance through this paſs into *Wales*. The vale almoſt cloſes in this place, leaving only room enough for the *Alun* to flow through its picturesque dingles, till it gains the open country near the church of *Gresford*. Caer Eſtyn.

I cannot trace the founder of this caſtle. It probably was one of the few *Welſh* fortreſſes that we have to boaſt of. Its oblong form; its comparative deficiency of towers; and its general agreement in ſtructure, with others whoſe origin I am acquainted with, make me willing to ſuppoſe it the work of our countrymen, after they had recovered poſſeſſion of this tract. In the reign of *Owen Gwynedd*, I find it part of the eſtates of *Gryffydd Maelor* *. Founder.

DAVID, brother to *Llewelyn*, laſt prince of *Wales*, held it from *Edward* I. *David* made great complaints of the injurious treatment he met with from *Roger de Clifford*, the juſticiary of *Cheſter*, who cut down his woods about *Hope*; and endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs him of his rights †. When *David* took up arms in defence of his brother, he left a garriſon in this caſtle; but in *June* 1282, it ſurrendered to the *Engliſh* monarch. As ſoon as it came into his poſſeſſion, he poſtowed it, with all its appertenances, on his beloved conſort *Eleanora* ‡; from which it acquired the name of Queen *Hope*. The queen lodged here in her way to *Caernarvon*, where her huſband ſent her to give the *Welſh*

* *Powel*, 211. † The ſame, 350.
‡ AYLOFF's Rot. *Walliæ*, 87.

Welsh a ruler born among them. Either at this time, or soon after, the castle was burnt by a casual fire.

John de Cromwell

In 1307, the first of *Edward* II. this castle and manor was granted to *John de Cromwell*, on condition that he should repair the castle, then in a ruinous state: and in 1317, he was directed to raise fifty foot-soldiers for the wars in *Scotland*, out of his lands in this country *. From his death, I find a gap in the succession, till the time they were given to Sir *John Stanley*.

CAERGWRLE, with *Hope*, is a prescriptive borough, and, in conjunction with *Flint*, &c. sends a member to parliament.

Bryn Yorkyn.

West of the castle, on a lofty hill, is *Bryn Yorkyn*, the paternal seat of *Ellis Yonge* Esq; a descendant of the fertile stock of the often mentioned *Tudor Trevor*. *Ferwerth*, the twelfth in descent, marrying the daughter of *William le Yonge* of *Croxton* †, called his children after their mother's name, which was continued by the family.

Hope.

LLEWELYN AP DAVYDD AP MEREDYDD, a descendant of *Ynyr* of *Yale*, had estates in this parish, which were forfeited in the reign of *Henry* IV. for his adherence to *Owen Glyndwr*, and bestowed on *Jenkin Hope*, great grandson of *Hugh Hope* of *Hawarden* ‡.

The parish is divided by the *Alun*: the village and church of *Hope* lies about a mile from the castle on the north side of the stream. The church is dedicated to St.

Church.

Cynfar. The monuments of note are, two to the *Trevors* of *Plâs-têg*; one, which is

* *Dugdale Baron.* i. 44, 45. Rotuli *Scotiæ*, 136.
† *Salusbury* Pedigree, 36. b. ‡ The same, p. 52. b. 67.

is mural, to Sir *John Trevor* knight, founder of that houſe, and ſecretary to the earl of *Nottingham*, victor over the invincible *armada*, and comptroller of the navy in the reigns of *Elizabeth* and *James* I. He died at his neighbouring ſeat, in 1629, aged 67.

The other is alſo mural; with two kneeling figures: the man in a gown and ruff; the lady with a kerchief over her neck. This wants an inſcription; but by the arms appears to have belonged to a *Trevor*.

Abundance of limeſtone is burnt into lime on *Caergwrle* hill; a lofty mountain, compoſed of that ſpecies of ſtone; from which a vaſt trade is carried into *Cheſhire*. Near the top are found in looſe earth, numbers of the bodies called *entrochi*, of a curious and uncommon ſort, with round protuberant joints. Foſſiliſts ſuppoſe them to have been parts of ſome ſpecies of arboreſcent ſea-ſtar, whoſe branches bear a reſemblance to theſe ſubſtances. Entrochi.

In former times, millſtones were cut out of the rock on which the caſtle ſtands, which is compoſed of ſmall pebbles lodged in grit.

On *Rhyddyn* demeſne, belonging to Sir *John Glynne*, adjoining to the *Alun*, are two ſprings, ſtrongly impregnated with ſalt; to which, in dry weather, uſed to be a great reſort of pigeons to pick up the hardened particles. Theſe were formerly reſorted to, as a remedy in ſcorbutic caſes. The patients drank a quart or two in a day; and ſome boiled the water till half was waſted, before they took it. The effect was, purging, griping, and ſickneſs at the ſtomach, which went off in a few days, and then produced a good appetite. Dr. *Short* gives Salt Springs.

gives an inſtance of a woman in a deplorable ſituation from a deep ſcurvy, who was perfectly reſtored by the uſe of theſe ſprings.

From the village of *Hope*, I returned on the north ſide of the valley; re-paſſed *Mold*; and, about a mile weſt of the town, viſited *Maes-Garmon*; a ſpot that ſtill retains the name of the ſaintly commander in the celebrated battle, the *Victoria Allelulatica*, fought in 420, between the *Britons*, headed by the biſhops *Germanus* and *Lupus*, and a crowd of pagan *Picts* and *Saxons*, who were carrying deſolation through the country. This event happened in *Eaſter* week, when the Chriſtian army, wet with their recent baptiſm in the river *Alun*, were led by their holy commanders againſt the pagan hoſt. *Germanus* inſtructed them to attend to the word he gave, and repeat it. Accordingly, he pronounced that of ALLELUIA. His ſoldiers caught the ſacred ſound, and repeated it with ſuch ecſtatic force, that the hills reſounding with the cry, ſtruck terror into the enemy, who fled on all ſides; numbers periſhed by the ſword, and numbers in the adjacent river *.

Maes-Garmon.

Such is the relation given by *Conſtantius* of *Lyons*, who wrote the life of St. *Germanus*, within thirty-two years after the death of the ſaint. It has been objected by cavillers, that the *Saxons* were not at that time, poſſeſſed of *Britain*. That may be admitted; but the learned USHER overthrows the objection, by rightly obſerving, that thoſe people had, long before, made

* Brit. Eccleſ. Antiquitates, 335. *Paulus Diaconus*, lib. xv. c. 12. and Bede, lib. i. c. 20. deſcribe the action.

made temporary invasions of our island, and committed great ravages in several parts; and calls to witness *Ammianus Marcellinus* *: and to his authority, I may add, that the *Romans* found it necessary to have, in the later times, a new officer to watch their motions, and repel their invasions, a *comes litoris* SAXONICI *per* BRITANNIAS.

MAES-GARMON, the scene of this celebrated victory, lies near *Rhual*, the pleasant seat of *Thomas Griffith* Esq; whose uncle, *Nehemiah Griffith*, erected a column, with the following inscription, to perpetuate the memory of the spot.

Ad Annum
CCCCXX.
Saxones Pictiq. Bellum adversus
Britones junctis viribus susciperunt.
In hac regione Hodieq. MAESGARMON
appellata; cum in prælium descenditur,
Apostolicis *Britonum* Ducibus Germano
et LUPO, CHRISTUS militabat in Castris:
ALLELUIA tertio repetitum exclamabant
Hostile agmen terrore prosternitur:
Triumphant
Hostibus fusis sine sanguine
palma Fide, non Viribus obtenta
M. P.
in VICTORIÆ ALLELUIATICÆ memoriam
N. G.
MDCCXXXVI.

From

* Lib. xxvi. c. 4.

Hesp-Alun.

From hence I proceeded towards *Kilken*; and saw in my way, *Hesp-alun* *; the place where the river *Alun*, like the sullen *Mole* or mourning *Guadiana*, sinks under ground, and continues a subterraneous course for half a mile, and then emerges to the day. About two miles distant from this place lies the church of *Kilken*, beneath *Moel Famma*, the highest division of the *Clwydian* hills. These run in a chain from above *Prestatyn* on the estuary of the *Dee*, from north to south as far as *Moel Yr accre* in *Llanarmon* parish; when they join the *Mountain Cefn du*, extending to the parish of *Gwyddelwern*. These admit no passage the whole way, excepting that of *Bodvari*, without climbing the steep sides, and going through the *bwlchs* formed high up between the round heathy heads that rise from the mass, more than two-thirds of the way to the summits; and which form, from the west side of the vale of *Clwyd*, a most beautiful view, especially in the season when it glows with the purple flowers of the heath. A few birds, lovers of exalted situations, are still to be found here; a few black and red grous have escaped the rage of shooters; and I have seen the *ringouzel* about the lower parts. These hills are composed of a mixed soil, clay, and gravel. The stone is of a shattery laminated nature, and bad for most œconomic uses. The sides abound in springs, which descend in small rills, to the great benefit of the inhabitants of the rich slopes.

Clwydian Hills.

Kilken Church.

The church of *Kilken* is remarkable for its carved roof; which is said to have been brought from

* *i. e.* the dry *Alun*.

from the church at *Baſingwerk* abby on the diſſolution: and thus to have fulfilled a prophecy of our *Robin Ddu*, who, when he ſaw it put up by monks, obſerved, it would do very well for a church beneath *Moel Famma*.

In this pariſh, on the ſide of the turnpike road, not far from *Kilken-hall*, is the noted *Ffynnon Leinw*, or the *flowing-well*; a large oblong well with a double wall round it. This is taken notice of by *Camden* for its flux and reflux; but the ſingularity has ceaſed ſince his time, according to the beſt information I can receive. Ffynnon Leinw.

Near this well, is *Kilken-hall*, a ſeat of a branch of the *Moſtyns*, now the property of the reverend Mr. *Edwards* of *Pentre*, in *Montgomeryſhire*, in right of his wife, *Charlotte Moſtyn*, heireſs of the place.

This fountain lies in the vale of *Nannerch*; which extends one way to *Mold*; and at the other joins with that of *Bodvari*, the inlet into the vale of *Clwyd*. The *Wheeler*, a pretty ſtream, riſes on the eaſt ſide; and after a ſhort courſe, falls into the *Clwyd*. The houſe of *Penbedw*, the ſeat of *Watkin Williams* Eſq; is a great ornament to this little valley. In this gentleman's library are ſome remains of the collection of Sir *Kenelm Digby*, ſome curious illuminated books; and the ſuperb pedigree ‡ of the *Digby* family, and its alliances, with all the arms and tombs that were extant, painted in the moſt exquiſite manner, at the expence of above Vale of Nannerch. Penbedw.

‡ Mention is made of it in *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 354. and the *Brit.* Biog. iii. 1313. By permiſſion of Mr. *Williams*, I cauſed ſeveral of the tombs to be copied; and that of Lady *Venetia Digby* to be engraven in the *Antiquary's Repertory*.

above a thouſand pounds; a vaſt ſum at the time of the compilation, in the year 1634.

PENBEDW is ſeated in a manor of the ſame name, granted in 1544, by *Henry* VIII. and witneſſed by queen *Catherine Parr*, to *Peter (Pyers) ap Howel*, alias *Peter Myſtyn*, of *Weſpre*, in conſideration of the payment of ſeventy-three pounds in hand. The grant recites, that it had been parcel of the poſſeſſions of the earl of *Kent*.

In the meadows below the houſe, is part of a druidical circle, and a ſmall *tumulus*. On one of the ſummits of the mountain, at a great height above the houſe, is a very ſtrong *Britiſh* poſt, with two ditches of prodigious depth, with ſuitable dikes on the acceſſible ſides; and on that which is inacceſſible, is a ſmooth terras, levelled along the hill, probably a place for exerciſing the poſſeſſors. This poſt is called *Moel* ARTHUR, probably in honour of our celebrated prince. This is one of the chain of poſts that defended the country of the *Ordovices*, and their ſucceſſors, againſt the inroads of invaders. They are far from being peculiar to that nation; but were the common mode of defence throughout the whole iſland. I conjecture that their origin was very early; but that they were occaſionally made uſe of in after times, even as low as that of *Owen Glyndwr*. Almoſt all are rendered defenſible in the ſame manner, by deep ditches and high banks formed either of earth or of looſe ſtones, with one, but generally two entrances. In the deſcription of that of *Caractacus* by *Tacitus*, their formation is exactly ſhewn: *Tunc montibus arduis, et ſi qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli*

Britiſh poſts.

Moel Arthur.

valli ſaxa proſtruit *. They are of no certain ſhape; but the precinct conforms to that of the hill. They are generally deſtitute of water; which evinces, that they were not intended as places of long abode, but merely temporary retreats for their families, herds, and flocks on a ſudden invaſion. The fighting men kept the field, while all that was dear or valuable, was committed to theſe *aſyla* under a proper garriſon. Their uſes.

They are always placed within ſight of one another; ſo that by fires, or other ſignals, notice might be given of the approach of an enemy. The firſt that forms this chain is *Moel Hiraddig*, about two or three miles from the ſea, on a rocky hill, in the pariſh of *Cwm*. Poſſibly, prior to the caſtle of *Diſerth*, another poſt might have been on that rock; and in ſuch caſe, ſhould be eſteemed the firſt poſt, the guard of the ſhore, and the great artificial mount above *Newmarket*, called *Cop yr Goleuni*, or *Mount of Light*; which may be ſeen from moſt of the others, might be the ſpot from whence the ſignal might be given of the approach of the enemy by ſea; whether they were *Saxons* or plundering *Scoti*. Moel Hiraddig.

The next to *Moel Hiraddig*, is a *Moel y Gaer*, in the pariſh of *Bodvari*, above the entrance of the inlet into the vale of *Clwyd*. Moel y Gaer.

The third are the vaſt entrenchments on *Bryn y Cloddiau*, or the hill of ditches. This is the largeſt we have; being a mile and a half in circuit, and defended by ſingle, double, triple, and even quadruple ditches, according to the exigencies Bryn y Cloddiau.

* *Taciti* Annales, lib. xii. c. 33.

exigencies of the ſides. In the foſs next to the area, are numbers of hollows, as if deſigned for lodgments of men, or a particular guard.

MOEL ARTHUR is the next. Almoſt oppoſite to it, on *Halkin* mountain, on the higheſt part, is *Moel y Crio*; a vaſt artificial mount, that ſeems to be a middle poſt between this, and the *Moel y Gaer* in *Northop* pariſh; but our ignorance in the art military of thoſe days, prevents us from pointing out the immediate uſe.

Moel y Crio. Second, Moel y Gaer.

Next ſucceeds *Moel Fenlli*. Beneath that is another poſt, on a leſſer hill, which juts into the vale of *Clwyd*, and is called by the common name of *Moel y Gaer*. Theſe are all that ſeem deſtined for the defence of this part of the country.

Moel Fenlli, and third Moel y Gaer.

CAER-ESTYN, and the poſt oppoſite on *Caergwrle* rock, defended that front. Farther on was *Hawarden*; and ſtill farther, where the vale of *Cheſhire* gains upon our country, was that of the *Roſts*, in the pariſh of *Gresford*. I could give a long liſt of theſe poſts, perhaps as far as the *Severn* ſea, in the country of the *Silures*, and the *Tranſ-ſabrine* parts of the *Cornavii*; but theſe ſuffice for the preſent purpoſe. I ſhall endeavour (in Mr. *Evans*'s map) to point out the whole of theſe faſtneſſes of our diſtant anceſtors.

Caer-Eſtyn.

Soon after paſſing *Penbedw*, I reached *Nannerch*, a hamlet with a ſmall church, noted for little but a monument, in memory of *Charlotte Theophila Moſtyn*, wife to *Richard Moſtyn* Eſq; former owner of *Penbedw*, and daughter and co-heireſs (with her ſiſter *Margaretta Maria*, who married Sir *John Conway* of *Bodtruddan*) to *John Digby*, ſon of the famous Sir *Kenelm*; by

Nannerch

which

which means, ſeveral choice morſels of his collection came into our country.

Gratitude to the worthy rector of this place, the reverend Mr. *John Lloyd*, for the many informations I received from him, reſpecting the antiquities of our country, urges me here to make my beſt acknowlegements. Few poſſeſs ſo large a ſhare of the knowlege of our language, and of our hiſtory; and few have been ſo liberal in the communication.

Mineral tract. This valley is a boundary of the mineral tract of our county. I ſhall now take a kind of bird's eye view of the whole, which I ſurrounded, beginning with the northern extremity. The highland part may be divided into two. The firſt is inſulated by valley, plain, and ſea. The farther point is *Dalar Goch*, or the rock of *Diſerth*, bounded by the rich, arable flats of *Rhudland*; the courſe is continued ſouthward through the pariſhes of *Cwm*, *Dimeirchion*, and *Caerwys*, bounded by the vale of *Clwyd*, and that of *Bodvari*. The pariſhes of *Yſgeiviog* and *Nannerch* ſucceed, and after them a portion of *Kilken*, when this mineral tract takes a turn above the pariſh of *Mold* at *Rhos Eſmor* in that of *Northop*; and then faces the eaſt in the pariſhes of *Halkin* and *Holywell*, in thoſe of *Whiteford*, *Llanaſa*, *Gwaenyſkar*, and *Meliden*, and makes a point towards the weſt, where it unites with the rock of *Diſerth*.

First diviſion.

Second diviſion. The ſecond diviſion is ſeparated from the firſt by a deep depreſſion of the country between *Rhos Eſmor*, and the pariſh of *Mold*. There is even in the lower parts, on the weſt ſide, a chain of mines. But the land riſes again at *Mold* mountain, and the mineral tract is continued through the pariſhes of *Llanverres*, the eaſtern ſides of *Llanarmon*, *Llandegla*, the *Gliſſeg* rocks, and *Minera* above *Wrexham*. The

Lime-ſtone. The middle of the firſt diviſion is entirely limeſtone, as is the weſtern ſide, from *Dalar goch* to *Rhos Eſmor:* from thence, or on the eaſtern ſide, the ſtrata alter. Towards the ſkirts of the hills, it changes to that ſubſtance called *chert*, more or leſs pure. Lower down it degenerate into ſhale of a black ſtone, ſoon diſſoluble in the air. So far lead-ore is found. Soon after this ſtrata, free-ſtone commences, and coals are found, which continue to the ſhore, and under the ſea, till they appear on the oppoſite ſide in the peninſula of *Wiral*, and again beyond the eſtuary of the *Merſey*.

Chert. Shale. Free-ſtone.

The ſame obſervations might be made on the *ſtrata* in the ſecond diviſion. Limeſtone beds are continued on the weſtern ſide beyond the *Gliſeg* rocks, and in their neighbourhood on both ſides of the *Dee*. The veins in *Minera* lie in an impure gritty chert. The ſudden change of *Strata* is very obſervable. The tranſition may be immediately ſeen on each ſide of the narrow vale of *Nannerch*, limeſtone forming the one, and the ſhattery ſlaty ſtone compoſing the other.

Was I to continue my aerial ſpeculation, I ſhould ſee a diſcontinuance of the limeſtone *ſtrata* till they roſe on the oppoſite ſide of the vale of *Clwyd*. My eye would catch the moſt remote part on the northern ſide of *Red Wharf-bay* in *Angleſea*, inſulated far from any other. The great promontories of *Llandudno* and *Rhiwledin*, or the greater and leſſer *Ormſhead*, the firſt (at times rich in copper) would next appear. *Penmaen Rhos*, and the continued precipices along the coaſt of *Denbighſhire*, ſucceed in the nearer view, many of them productive of lead ore. And, finally, the detached rocks of *Henllan* beyond *Denbigh*, and

Coed

Coed Marchon beyond *Ruthyn*, which yield to the induſtrious farmer, by their excellent lime, a manure more certainly productive of wealth, than the precarious ſearch after the deep-hid minerals.

The limeſtone and the chert of our mineral tracts are of unknown depth; neither bottom, nor that of the fiſſars or veins which croſs them, have ever been diſcovered. The ore of lead has been followed to the depth of a hundred and thirty, or a hundred and forty yards, and then has ceaſed; but the unprofitable vein appears below uncloſed. Our mines, as I have ſhewn before, have been worked from very early times *, but not without long interruptions. But as ſeveral of our veins have been purſued for a hundred years paſt, the point may be affirmed of the depth to which they bear ore in our country. Depth of veins.

The veins run either north and ſouth, or eaſt and weſt. But it is remarkable, that the lead ore got in the firſt, ſcarcely ever produces a quantity of ſilver worth the refiner's labour. The ores of *Mold* mountain, and *Minera*, yield ſcarcely any ſilver. Their courſe.

The minerals of the tracts in queſtion, are ore of lead, calamine, or *Lapis calaminaris*; and a mineral, that anſwers the ſame purpoſe, called by the miners *black jack*.

Our ores of lead differ in quality. The lamellated, or common kind, uſually named *potters ore*, yields from fourteen to ſixteen hundred and a quartet of lead, from twenty hundred of the ore: but the laſt produce is rare. Ores of Lead; their produce of Lead.

* P. 51.

Of ſilver.

The quantity of ſilver produced from our lead is alſo variable. The upper part of a vein of lead ore is always richeſt in ſilver; the bottom, in lead. Our refiners will aſſay any lead that will yield ten ounces in the ton of lead and upwards. The uſual produce is fourteen ounces: ſixteen have been gotten; but acquiſitions of that kind within this circuit are extremely uncommon.

Green lead-ore.

Some years ago, a green lead ore was diſcovered in the *ſilver* rake on *Halkin* mountain. Only a ſmall quantity was found, which yielded about thirteen hundred and a quarter from a tun of the ore. It was of a very ſtubborn quality, and reſiſted the greateſt powers of the blaſt furnace before it would yield any metal.

Brown, or caulk.

The brown or whitiſh ſtoney ſpecies of ore called *Caulk*, produce from five hundred and a quarter to eleven hundred of lead from the ton. The ſmelters likewiſe get from what is called *waſte*, or the hillocks, which are the refuſe of good ores, ſo mixed with clay, gravel, ſtone, or calamine, as not to be ſeparated but by fire, from ten to thirteen hundred of lead per ton.

Rich mines.

We have had at different periods mines productive of vaſt wealth in ſeveral parts of this tract. The richeſt vein was diſcovered about fifty years ago at *Rowley*'s rake, or *Pant y Pwll dwr* on *Halkin* mountain, continued with ſome interruption into a ſmall incloſure, the property of Sir *George Wynne* of *Leeſwood*, and the freehold of Mr. *David Hughes*; which, in leſs than thirty years, yielded to different proprietors, adventurers, and ſmelters, above a million of money. The reader will naturally expect to find in theſe parts a nation of *Cræſus*'s; but

but *citò parta, citò dilabuntur.* It is at this time an undetermined queſtion, whether more wealth has been gotten out of the earth, or more loſt in the ſearch after the prizes in this ſubterraneous lottery.

Much of the ore obtained in our country is ſmelted in the ſeveral furnaces belonging to different companies: much alſo is exported in the form of ore. I wiſhed to be acquainted with the annual quantity ſmelted from thoſe of the country; but found, by reaſon of the ores imported from *Scotland* and other parts, that the computation would be of inſuperable difficulty. All the lead and ore is exported from the port of *Cheſter*, a ſmall quantity excepted, conſumed by the plumbers and other trades in the adjacent parts. I therefore refer the reader to pages 196, 197, for the number of tuns ſent from that port in the years 1771, 1776. By the favour of Mr. *Jken*, collector, I am permitted to ſay, that, from the year 1758 to *Chriſtmas* 1777, the following quantities have been entered in the cuſtom-houſe, foreign and coaſt-ways.

Lead			*Lead ore.*		*Litharge.*	
Tons.	*c. qrs. lb.*		*T.*	*c.*	*T.*	*c.*
79533	11 2 16	-	12840	6 -	2767	7

I cannot aſcertain the quantity of ounces of ſilver produced from our ores, for the reaſons juſt aſſigned. I can only ſay, that the company of a ſingle ſmelting-houſe, did obtain in the

	Oz.		Oz.
Year 1754 -	12160.	In 1774 -	5693.
1755 -	1276.	1775 -	6704.
1756 -	7344.	1776 -	4347.

The reader need not be told, that the former were the years of mineral plenty; and ſuch, which I muſt ſay, are ſeldom known. There are five other ſmelting houſes; but I believe none equalled this in the quality of ſilver. This precious metal is chiefly bought by the artificers at *Sheffield* and *Birmingham*.

Calamine is found in great abundance in the veins of limeſtone and chert, in the ſame manner as the ores of lead. Where there is plenty of the former, there is little or none of the latter. The calamine is alſo entirely confined to the eaſtern ſide of the country. About a thouſand tons of this mineral is annually exported. I have mentioned, in p. 62. how little it was known in *Flintſhire* till within theſe ſixty years; and may here add, that we were indebted to *John Barrow*, a native of *Somerſetſhire*, who being well acquainted with that mineral in his own country, pointed out to us its uſes.

Calamine aſſumes various ſhapes and colours. Green, yellow, red, and black, often has a ſtony appearance, and often like the lattice work of bones. The richeſt looks like bees-wax; but that ſpecies is not common any more than the curious cryſtallized ſpecimens.

The ores of *Zink*, called here *black jack*, are met with in our mines. We have it in a metallic form of a bluiſh grey colour; and again in form

form of the dark ſemipellucid ambers. *Cromſted* calls the firſt ZINCUM *ferro ſulphurato mineraliſatum*; the other ZINCUM *calciforme cum ferro ſulphuratum*, N° 1. *a*.

Theſe were engroſſed by patent by a *Briſtol* company, and carried there to aid the making of braſs.

SPARS of different kinds are found in the limeſtone veins; particularly the ſpecies called *Iceland* cryſtal, *ſpatum iſlandicum**, the refracting ſpar, which repreſents objects ſeen through it double. Iceland cryſtal.

PETROLEUM, or rock-oil, is found ſometimes in crevices of the mines; has an agreeable ſmell, and is eſteemed ſerviceable in rheumatic caſes, if rubbed on the parts affected. The miners call it *Ymenyn tylwyth têg*, or the *fairies butter*, belonging to the benign ſpecies; perhaps the ſame with thoſe (in ſuperſtitious days called *knockers*) which, by repeated ſtrokes, were believed to direct the miners to a rich vein. But, in fact, the noiſes often heard in mines are always diſcovered to proceed from the dropping of water. Theſe *dæmones montani*, as *Agricola** calls them, never infeſt our mines, except in form of damps of both ſpecies, the *ſuffocating* and the *fire*. The laſt is very frequent in the coal-pits, but rare in the mines of lead, unleſs in thoſe parts where the *ſhale* begins, or ſtone attendant on coal. The firſt kills inſtantaneouſly, by its *mephitic* vapour, and is a diſaſter common to neglected vaults, and draw-wells. The other is inflammable, and burns and deſtroys in a dreadful Fairies butter. Knockers.

* This very able writer, in one inſtance credulous, ſays, that twelve men were killed at once by one of theſe *Dæmones truculenti*, in the mine of ANNEBERG. *De anim. ſubter.* 491.

Fire-damp.

dreadful manner, as the colliers, through negligence, in not ſetting fire to the vapour before it gets to a head, do often experience. The moſt tremendous inſtance was on *February* 3d, 1675, in a coal-work at *Moſtyn*, which I ſhall relate from the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* *; and ſo conclude the account of our mineral concerns.

in Moſtyn colliery.

'The damp had been perceived for ſome 'time before, reſembling fiery blades darting 'and croſſing each other from both ſides of 'the pit. The uſual methods were taken to 'free the pit from this evil. After a ceſſati-'on of work for three days, the ſteward think-'ing to fetch a compaſs about from the eye 'of the pit that came from the day, and to 'bring wind by a ſecure way along with him, 'that, if it burſt again, it might be done with-'out danger of men's lives, went down, and 'took two men along with him, which ſerved 'his turn for this purpoſe. He was no ſooner 'down, but the reſt of the workmen that had 'wrought there, diſdaining to be left behind 'in ſuch a time of danger, haſted down after 'them; and one of them, more indiſcreet 'than the reſt, went headlong with his candle 'over the eye of the damp-pit, at which the 'damp immediately catched, and flew to and 'fro over all the hollows of the work, with 'a great wind, and a continual fire; and, as 'it went, keeping a mighty great roaring noiſe 'on all ſides.

'The men, at firſt appearance of it, had moſt 'of them fallen upon their faces, and hid them-'ſelves as well as they could, in the looſe, ſlack,

'or

* N° 136. or Vol. ii. 378. *Lowthorp*'s Abridgment, The account was drawn up by Mr. *Roger Moſtyn*.

'or ſmall-coal, and under the ſhelter of poſts; 'yet, nevertheleſs, the damp returning out of 'the hollows, and drawing towards the eye 'of the pit, it came up with incredible force; 'the wind and fire tore moſt of their clothes 'off their backs, and ſinged what was left, 'burning their hair, faces, and hands; the 'blaſts falling ſo ſharp on their ſkin, as if they 'had been whipt with cords. Some, that had 'leaſt ſhelter, were carried fifteen or ſixteen 'yards from their firſt ſtation, and beaten 'againſt the roof of the coal, and ſides of the 'poſt, and lay afterwards a good while ſenſe-'leſs; ſo that it was long before they could 'hear or find one another. As it drew up to the 'day-pit, it caught one of the men along with 'it, that was next to the eye; and up it comes, 'with ſuch a terrible crack, not unlike, but 'more ſhrill, than a cannon, that was heard 'fifteen miles off, with the wind; and ſuch 'a pillar of ſmoak, as darkened all the ſky 'over-head for a good while. The brow of 'the hill above the pit was eighteen yards 'high, and on it grew trees of fourteen or fifteen 'yards long; yet the man's body, and other 'things from the pit, were ſeen above the 'tops of the higheſt trees, at leaſt 100 yards. 'On this pit ſtood a horſe-engine of ſubſtan-'tial timber, and ſtrong iron work; on which 'lay a trunk, or barrel, for winding the rope 'up and down, of above 1000 pounds weight; 'it was then in motion, one bucket going 'down and the other coming up full of wa-'ter. This trunk was faſtened to that frame 'with locks and bolts of iron; yet it was 'thrown up, and carried a good way from 'the pit; and pieces of it, though bound with 'iron-hoops and ſtrong nails, blown into the

'woods

'woods about: ſo likewiſe were the two buck-
'ets; and the ends of the rope, after the buckets
'were blown from them, ſtood a while upright
'in the air like pikes, and then came leiſurely
'drilling down. The whole frame of the en-
'gine was ſtirred, and moved out of its place;
'and thoſe mens clothes, caps, and hats, that
'eſcaped, were afterwards found ſhattered to
'pieces, and thrown amongſt the woods a
'great way from the pit.'

From *Nanerch*, I continued my journey along the narrow vale, pictureſquely ornamented with hanging woods. Leave the church of *Skeiviog* on the right. In this pariſh was ſhot, a few years ago, that ſingular bird, the *Hoopoe*, vol. i. N° 90. of *Britiſh Zoology*. This ſpecies is of the ſize of a *ſtare*; eaſily diſtinguiſhable by its large creſt; long, ſlender, incurvated bill; and by having only ten feathers in the tail. I can add to my former account, that the *Arabs* call it the *meſſenger bird*; not only from the reſemblance which the creſt bears to the plumes that decorate the caps of *Chaous* or *Turkiſh* meſſengers; but alſo, becauſe the *Mahometans* believe it to have been the bird which (when birds could ſpeak) held a converſation with *Solomon*, and to have been the courier which carried on the epiſtolary correſpondence between that wiſe monarch and the *Sabæan* queen *.

Hoopoe.

At the junction of the vales of *Nannerch* and *Bodvari*, I aſcended to *Caerwys*; a town mouldering away with age. It conſiſts of four ſtreets, croſſing each other at right angles, anſwering to the four points of the compaſs. The name, as *Camden* has long ſince obſerved, ſavours of great antiquity.

Caerwys.

Caer,

* *Bochart Hieroz.* pars. ii. p. 347. Alſo, Univerſal antient Hiſt. iv. 107. notes.

Caer, the fortreſs and *Gwys*, a ſummon, which ſhews it had been early times, the place of judicature; and it certainly had that honour long before it was removed to the county-town of *Flint*. I will not aſſert that it had been a *Roman* ſtation, notwithſtanding I am credibly informed, that in the preſent century, a number of copper coins were found in a bottom below the town; and there ſtill remains in the pariſh, a Latin inſcription, cut in rude letters, on an unhewn upright ſtone to this effect: HIC JACIT MULI ERBO . . . . OBIIT. Multitudes of *tumuli* are ſcattered over the neighbourhood; and one very near to it. This plain, probably, had been a field of battle. Whether this inſcription referred to any heroine that fell on this place, I will not dare to affirm. It is an unfiniſhed piece, *Hic jacit mulier* BO—and, at a diſtance, the word *obiit*.

CAERWYS *, with a neighbouring town now loſt, called *Tref Edwyn*, and *Rhuddlan*, had been, from very early time, the ſeats of the judicature for theſe parts of *Wales*. In 1281, the noblemen of *Tegengl* lied before the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who came down on the Chriſtian deſign of reconciling the differences between *Edward* I. and *Llewelyn*) the infringement of their liberties in this particular; aſſerting, that it was the tenor of their privilege to be judged according to the laws of *Wales*, at thoſe three places: and that the beſt men of the country were taken becauſe they deſired to be judged at *Tref Edwyn* by the laws of *Wales* †. How far their complaints

* *Powel*, 360. † Ibid.

plaints were remedied does not appear: but when juſticiary courts were in after times appointed, *Caerwys* recovered its antient honours. In this town were held the great ſeſſions. It had its town-hall, and its jail; and was the place of execution. It remained the place of judicature till ſometime paſt the middle of the laſt century, when the courts were removed to *Flint*.

In the year 1241, or the 26th of *Henry* III. that prince granted to the inhabitants of *Tegengl*, a charter*, exempting them from the *amobr*; but at the ſame time, impoſes on them an obligation to find twenty-four people, who were to keep the peace of the country: and obliges this town, *Picton*, *Axton*, and other hamlets, to find three men each, to work three days in the harveſt, as they were wont in the days of the two preceding *Welſh* princes. This ſeems during ſome temporary advantage which *Henry* had over the *Welſh*.

CAERWYS has the moſt conſiderable fairs for cattle, ſheep and horſes, in all the county. They are of great antiquity. The firſt *John Trevor*, biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, appears among the ſubſcribers to a charter for a market in 1356; but the markets have now failed entirely, ſince the increaſe of *Holywell*.

The earl of *Plymouth* is lord of this manor; and poſſeſſes, by purchaſe of an anceſtor, the eſtate of the *Griffiths*, deſcended from *Ednowen-Bendew*, one of the fifteen tribes, whoſe ſeat is ſtill ſtanding, inhabited by tenants.

But what gave a particular glory to the town of *Caerwys*, was the honour it had of being the place

* *Moſtyn*, MSS.

place of the *Eiſteddfod*, or the ſeſſions of the bards and minſtrels for many centuries. It was the reſort of thoſe of a certain diſtrict; as *Aberfraw* in *Angleſea* was of thoſe of that iſland, and the neighbouring county; and *Mathraval* of thoſe of the land of *Powys*. The reaſon that theſe places were thus diſtinguiſhed, was, becauſe the two laſt were the reſidence of princes; and *Caerwys*, on account of the royal palace that ſtood below the town, the reſidence of *Llewelyn ap Gryffydd*.

Theſe *Eiſteddfods* were the *Britiſh Olympics*. Fired at firſt with generous emulation, our poets crowded into the liſt, and carried off the prize, contented with the mere honour of victory. At length, when the competitors became numerous, and the country became oppreſſed with the multitude, new regulations of courſe took place. The diſappointed candidates were no longer ſuffered to torture the ears of the principality with their wretched compoſitions. None but bards of merit were ſuffered to rehearſe their pieces; and minſtrels of ſkill, to perform. Theſe went through a long probation: judges were appointed to decide on their reſpective abilities; and degrees ſuitable were conferred, and permiſſions granted for exerciſing their talents, in the manner that will be related in the following pages. The judges were appointed by commiſſion from our princes; and after the conqueſt of *Wales*, by the kings of *England*, notwithſtanding *Edward* I. exerciſed a political cruelty over the generation of bards of his time; yet future princes thought fit to revive an inſtitution ſo likely to ſoften the manners of a fierce people. The crown had the power of nominating the judges, who decided not only on the merit, but the

the ſubject of the poems; and, like our modern lord chamberlains, were certain of licenſing only thoſe which were agreeable to the *Engliſh* court.

Antient Bards.

Before I enter on the account of the ſucceſſion of *Britiſh Eiſteddfods*, I ſhall juſt mention the high antiquity of the character that made, in after times, the principal figure in theſe meetings. The *Bardi* (the *Beirdds* of the *Britons*) were of great authority among the *Celtic* nations: the *Germans* were animated in battle by verſes delivered in a deep and ſolemn tone *, among the *Gauls* †, they ſung the actions of great men; and particularly, celebrated in their hymns, the heroes who fell in fight:

Vos quoque qui fortes animas belloque peremtas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittis in ævum
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina BARDI.

LUCAN. i.

You too, ye bards, whom ſacred rapture fire
To chaunt your heroes to your country's lyre,
Who conſecrate in your immortal ſtrain,
Brave patriot ſouls in righteous battle ſlain;
Securely now the tuneful taſk renew,
And nobleſt themes in deathleſs ſongs purſue.

ROWE.

It is highly probable, that the bards and minſtrels were under certain regulations during the time of *Druidiſm*; but we find no proofs of

* *Tacitus* de mor. German.
† *Strabo*, lib. iv. 302. *Athenæus*, lib. vi. 246.

of them till long after; till the days of *Cadwaladr*, laſt king of *Britain*, who died at *Rome* about the year 688. Of him it is ſaid, that being at an aſſembly of this nature, with his nobles, there came a minſtrel, and played in a key ſo diſpleaſing, that he and all his brethren were prohibited, under a ſevere penalty, from ever playing on it any more; but were ordered to adopt that of *Mwynen Gwynedd*, or the ſweet key of *Gwynedd* *. In time of Cadwaladr:

I imagine, that previous to this, there had been muſical regulations in *Britain*; for I find that a tune, called *Goſteg yr Halen*, or the *Prelude of the Salt*, was always played whenever the ſalt-ſeller was placed before king *Arthur*'s knights, at his round table †. of Arthur:

After *Cadwaladr*, the next princes who undertook the reform of our minſtrelſie, were *Bleddyn ap Cynfyn* and *Gryffydd ap Cynan*. The firſt was cotemporary with the conqueror; the laſt with king *Stephen*. Theſe enacted, that no perſon ſhould follow the *profeſſion* of bard or minſtrel, but ſuch only who were admitted by the *Eiſteddfod*, which was held once in three years. They were prohibited from invading one another's province: nor were they permitted to degrade themſelves by following any *other* occupation. Neither of theſe were to demand above ten ſhillings in any article, under pain of loſing the whole, beſides being ſuſpended from their profeſſion for three years ‡. of Gryffydd ap Cynan.

After the times of the princes, the great men, their deſcendants, took theſe people under

* *North Wales.*

† Mr. *Morris*'s MSS. of *Britiſh* muſic.

‡ *Leges Wallicæ*, 35.

der their care and protection, allowing them the liberty of circuiting their reſpective territories thrice a year, viz. at *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*; and the whole principality once in three years.

The bards were in the higheſt repute. I cannot give a ſtronger idea of the eſteem they were in, than by citing from the *Welſh* laws, the acoount of their rank in the prince's court, and the various rewards and fees they were entitled to, and the ſevere penalties that were enacted to preſerve their perſons from inſult. They were ſuppoſed to be endowed with powers equal to inſpiration. They were the oral hiſtorians of all paſt tranſactions, public and private. They related the great events of the ſtate; and, like the *ſcalds* of the northern nations, retained the memory of numberleſs tranſactions, which otherwiſe would have periſhed in oblivion. They were likewiſe thoroughly acquainted with the works of the three primary bards, *viz.* MYRDDYN AP MORFRYN, MYRDDYN EMRYS, and TALIESIN BEN BEIRDD. But they had another talent, which probably endeared them more than all the reſt to the *Welſh* nobility; that of being moſt accompliſhed genealogiſts, and flattering their vanity, in ſinging the deeds of an anceſtry derived from the moſt diſtant period.

The BARDD TEULU, or COURT BARD, held the eighth place in the prince's court. He poſſeſſed his land free. The prince ſupplied him with a horſe and woollen robe, and the princeſs with linen *. He ſat next to the governor of the palace at the three great feſtivals; for, at thoſe ſeaſons, the governor was to deliver him his harp †. On the ſame feſtivals,

* *Leges Wallicæ*, 35. † The ſame, 35, and 16.

vals, he was alſo to have the *Diſdain's*, or ſteward of the houſhold's garment for his fee.

When a ſong is called for, the *Cadeir-fardd*, or the bard who has got the *badge of the chair*, is firſt to ſing a hymn in glory of GOD; after that, another in honour of the prince. When thoſe are over, the *Teuluwr*, or bard of the hall, is to ſing ſome other ſubject.

If the princeſs calls for a ſong after ſhe has retired from the table to her apartment, the *Teuluwr* muſt ſing to her highneſs in a low voice, leſt he ſhould diſturb the performers in the hall. *John Dafydd Rhys* ſays, that the ſubject was to be on death; but I rather follow *Wotton*, who, inſtead of *angau*, which ſignifies *death*, prefers the word *amgen*, or a *ſeparate ſubject* from what was ſung in the hall.

When the bard goes with the prince's ſervants on a plundering expedition, and performs before them his animating compoſitions, he is to have the fineſt heifer of the booty; and in caſe the detachment was drawn up in order of battle, he was to ſing at their head, the *praiſes of the* Britiſh *monarchy*. This was to remind them of their antient right to the whole kingdom; for their inroads being almoſt always on the *Engliſh* territories, they thought they did no more than ſeize on their own.

The prince beſtowed on him an ivory cheſs-board; others ſay a harp: and the princeſs a golden ring. His lodging was to be with the governor of the palace.

When he is required to ſing with other bards, by way of diſtinction, he is to have a double portion.

If

If the bard aſk any favour of the prince, he muſt ſing one of his compoſitions: if of a nobleman, three: if of a common perſon, he muſt ſing till he is ſo weary as to reſt on his elbow, or to fall aſleep. This, I fear, ſhews our bards were a very importuning race, and required a check; yet ſtill they were in high eſtimation. Their *Gwerth*, or compenſation for their life, was rated at cxxvi cows*, and any injury done them, at vi cows and cxx pence.

Merch-gobr. The *Merch-Gobr* of his daughter, or marriage fine of his daughter, was cxx pence. Her *cowyll, argyffreu*, or nuptial preſents, was thirty ſhillings; and her portion three pounds †. It is remarkable, that the PENCERDD GWLAD, or chief of the faculty, was entitled to the *merch-gobr*, or *amobr* for the daughters of all the inferiors of the faculty within the diſtrict, who payed xxiv pence on their marriage; which not only ſhews the antiquity, but the great authority of theſe people.

The PENCERDD was not among the § officers of the court: but occaſionally ſat in the tenth place. He alſo had his land free; was to perform much in the ſame manner as the court-bard, whom he ſeems to have taken place of, whenever he attended; for, when the *Pencerdd* was preſent, the former ſat only in the twelfth ſeat. No other was to play without licenſe from him. His death was valued at cxxvi cows; and any injury done him, at vi cows, and cxx pence. Each of the chief muſicians was to receive from their lord, the firſt, a harp;

* *Leges Wallicæ*, 37. † Ibid. 37. § Ibid. 68.

a harp; the ſecond, a *crwth*; the third, a pipe; which, on their deaths, were to revert to the lord.

The prince's harp was valued at cxx pence, and that of *Pencerdd* at the ſame; the key at xxiv pence: a gentleman's harp was eſtimated at lx pence.

POWEL † ſays, that *Gryffydd ap Cynan* brought over him out of *Ireland*, divers cunning muſicians, who deviſed in a manner, all the inſtrumental muſic now uſed. With all reſpect to our ſiſter kingdom, I muſt imagine, that if our inſtruments were not originally *Britiſh*, we were copyiſts from the *Romans*, who, again, took their inſtruments from the *Greeks*. Methinks I ſee the model of a harp in fig. 7. tab. lxxvi. of the ſupplement of *Montfaucon*, volume iii.; of the *crwth* in Doctor BURNY's Pſalter, tab. v. fig. 4. or his *Etruſcan* lyre, fig. 10.; and of the pipe, in ſeveral ſimple pipes, before it received from us the addition of the horns, from whence it got the title of *pib-gorn*, and the *Engliſh* name of *cornet* ‡.

A commiſſion for holding an *Eiſteddfod* at *Caerwys*, in 1568, is ſtill in poſſeſſion of Sir *Roger Moſtyn*, together with the SILVER HARP; which had from time immemorial been in the gift of his anceſtors, to beſtow on the *chief of the faculty*. This badge of honour is about five or ſix inches long, and furniſhed with ſtrings equal to the number of the muſes. The commiſſion is the laſt of the kind which was granted; and is in form following:

* *Leges Wallicæ*, 68. † 191. ‡ See figures of the *crwth* and *pib-gorn* in *Archæologia*, iii. tab. vii.



By the QUENE.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland* Quene, defendor of the fayth, &c. to our truſtie and ryght wel beloved Sr *Richard Bulkley* knight, Sir *Rees Gruffith* knight, *Ellice Price* eſquior, Doctor in cyvil lawe, and one of our counſail in our marches of *Wales*, *William Moſtyn*, *Jevan Lloyd* of *Yale*, *Jhn Saluſbury* of *Ruge*, *Rees Thomos*, *Maurice Wynne*, *Willm Lewis*, *Peres Moſtyn*, *Owen Jhn ap Holl Vaughan*, *John Willm ap John*, *John Lewis Owen*, *Moris*

ris Gruffyth, Symound Thelvall, Ellice ap Wm Lloyd, Robt Puleſton, Harry Aparry, William Glynne, and *Rees Hughes,* eſquiors, and to every of them, greating. Wheras it is come to the knowledge of the lorde preſident and other or ſaid counſail in or marches of *Wales,* that vagrunt and idle pſons, naming themſelfs mynſtrells, rithmors, and barthes, are lately growen into ſuch an intollerable multitude wthin the principalitee of *Northwales;* that not only gentlemen and others, by theire ſhameleſs diſorders, are oftentimes diſquieted in theire habitacons; but alſo thexpert mynſtrells and muciſions in toune and contry therby much diſcouraged to travail in thexerciſe and practize of theire knowledge; and alſo not a little in theire lyvings and pferms. The reformacon wherof, and the putting of theſe people in ordr, the ſaid lorde preſident & counſail have thought verey neceſſarye, and knowing you to be men both of wyſdome and upright dealing, and alſo of experience and good knowledge in the ſcyence, have apointed and authorized you to be comiſſioners for that purpoſe. And foraſmuch as or ſaid counſail of late, travayling in ſome pte of the ſaid principalitee, had pfect underſtanding or credible report, that thaccuſtomed place for thexecucon of the like comſſyon, hath bene hertofore at *Caroyes* in our countie of *Fflynt;* and that *William Moſtyn* eſquior, and his anceſtrs have had the gyfte and beſtowing of the ſylver harpe apptayning to the cheff of that facultie, and that a yeares warning at the leaſt hath bene accuſtomed to be geaven of thaſſembly and execucon of the like comiſſyn. Our ſaid counſail have, therefore, apoynted thexecucon of this commiſſyon

to be at the ſaid towne of *Caroyes*, the *Monday* next aft^r the feaſt of the bleſſed Trynitee, wch ſhall be in the yeare of o^r Lorde God 1568.

And therfore we require and comand you, by the aucthoritee of theſe pſents, not only to cauſe open pclamacons to be made in all ffayo^rs, m^rketts, townes, and other places of aſſembly w^thin our counties of *Anglize*, *Carn^rvon*, *Meryonneth*, *Denbigh*, and *Fflynt*, that all and ev^ry pſon and pſons that entend to maynteigne theire lyvings by name or color of mynſtrells, rithmrs, or bartes, with in the *Talaith* of *Aberſiowe*, comphending the ſaid fyve ſhires, ſhal be and appeare before you the ſaid daye and place, to ſhewe their learnings accordingly: but alſo that you, xx^tie, xix^en, xviii^en, xvii^en, xvi^en, xv^en, xiiii^en, xiii^en, xii^e, xi^n, x^en, ix, viii, vii, or vi of you whereof youe, Sr *Richard Bulkley*, Sr *Rees Gruffith*, *Elice Price*, and *W^m Moſtyn*, Eſquio^rs, or iii^ee or ii of you, to be of the nomb^r to repayre to the ſaid place the daye aforſaid, and calling to you ſuch expert men in the ſaid facultie of the *Welſhe* muſick, as to you ſhall be thought convenient to pceade to thexecucon of the pmiſs^s, and to admytt ſuch and ſo many as by your wiſdomes and knowledges you ſhall fynde worthy into and und^r the degrees heretofore in ſemblable ſort, to uſe exerciſe and folowe the ſcyences and facultes of theire pfeſſyons in ſuch decent ord^r as ſhall apptaigne to eche of theire degrees, and as yor diſcrecons and wiſdomes ſhall pſcribe unto them, geaving ſtraight monycons and comaundm^t in o^r behalf to the reſt not worthy that they returne to ſome honeſt labo^r and due exerciſe, ſuch as they be moſt apte unto for mayntenaunce of their lyvings, upon

upon paine to be taken as ſturdy and idle vacaboundes, and to be uſed according to the lawes and ſtatutes pvided in that behalf, letting you wyth o^{r} ſaid counſaill look for advertiſem^{t} by due certificatt at your handes of yor doings in thexecucon of the ſaid pmiſs^{s}. For ſeeing in any wiſe that upon the ſaid aſſembly the peas and good order be obſerved and kept accordingly, aſſertayning you that the ſaid *Willm Moſtyn* hath pmiſed to ſee furnyture and things neceſſary pvided for that aſſembly at the place aforſaid. Geven under o^{r} ſignet at o^{r} citie of *Cheſter* the xxiiith of *Oc̄tober*, the nynth yeare of o^{r} raigne.

Signed her Hignes counſaill, in the m^{r}ches of WALES.

In conſequence, an *Eiſteddfod* was held on the 26th *May* following: and on this occaſion the following perſons received their degrees:

Lewis Edward,
William Llyn,
Owen Evan, alias *Gwynedd*,
Sinwnt Fychan,
} were created { chief bards of vocal ſong.

William Kynwal,
Lewis Menai,
Sion Tudur,
Huw Llyn,
Bedo Haveſp,
Siou Phylip,
Huw Conway,
} —— { primary ſtudents of vocal ſong.

Ieuan

Ieuan Tew, *Huw Pennant*, *Howel Keiriog*, were created secondary ſtudents of vocal ſong.

Davydd Alaw, *Edward Brwynllys*, *Rhys Gelli*, probationary ſtudents of vocal ſong.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

Harp. *Sion ap Rhys Bencerdd*, *William Pellyn*, *Hwlkin Glwyd*, chief bards and teachers of inſtrumental ſong.

Harp. *Thomas Anwyl*, *Dd Glwyd ap Sion ap Rhys*, *Edw. ab Evan*, *Robt. ap Howel Glanvor*, *Humphrey Gôch*, chief bards (but not teachers) of inſtrumental ſong.

Harp. *Richard Glyn*, *Robert Glwyd*, *Evan Penllyn*, *Lewis Llanvor*, primary ſtudents of inſtrumental ſong.

Harp. *Huw Dai*, *Huw ap Morus*, *Siamas Morlas*, *Sion Niwbwrch*, *Ellis Gruffydd*, ſecondary ditto.

Lewis

Lewis Berain, *Ieuan ap Meredydd*, *Gwalchmai ap Davydd*,	were created	probationary ſtudents of inſtrumental ſong.	Harp.
Siamas Eutyn, *Evan Penmon*,	——	chief bards and teachers of inſtrumental ſong.	Crwth.
Robert ap Rhys Gyttyn, *Thomas Môn*, *Sion Ednyved*, *Thomas Grythor*	——	chief bards (but not teachers) of inſtrumental ſong.	Crwth.
Sion Ddu Grythor,	——	primary ſtudent of inſtrumental ſong.	Crwth.
Robert ab Evan Llwyd, *Edw. Grythor*, *Thom. Kegidva*, *Rhys Grythor Hiraethog*, *Thomas Grythor Bâch*, *Davydd ab Howel Grythor*, *Will. Ednyved*,	——	ſecondary ſtudents of inſtrumental ſong.	Crwth.
Rich. Conway, *Sion Alaw*, *Robt. Conway*, *Crythor Glwyd Marchedd*,	——	probationary ſtudents of inſtrumental ſong.	Crwth.

It muſt be obſerved, that players on crwths with three ſtrings, taborers, and pipers, were reckoned among the ignoble performers: they were not allowed to ſit down, and had only a penny for their pains.

The different degrees were comprehended in this liſt. There were four in the poetical, and five in the muſical faculty. The loweſt, or more properly what ſhould be called a candidate or probationer, was *Y Dyſcybl Yŷâs*, or the *loweſt diſciple*, who was obliged (if a candidate for poetry) to underſtand the contraction of *Englyns*, and to compoſe them before a *Pencerdd*, who was to declare upon his conſcience, that he was endowed with a true poetical genius. After this he commenced

DYSCYBL DYSCYBLAIDD, *Diſcipulus diſciplinabilis:* here he becomes a graduate; but muſt underſtand twelve of our different metres, and produce ſpecimens of each of his own compoſition; and if in three years time he does not, by his merit, acquire the next degree, he is degraded from this. If he ſucceeds, he then proceeds to the degree of

DYSCYBL PENCEIRDDIAIDD, or candidate for degree of *Pencerdd*, when he muſt underſtand the propriety of expreſſions, and the different metres, and compoſe in twenty-one ſpecies; and if in three years he does not attain by his own merit to the next degree, he falls back into that of *Dyſcybl dyſcyblaidd*; otherwiſe he becomes a

PENBARDD or PENCERDD, chief of the faculty he was candidate in; when it is neceſſary he ſhould be accompliſhed in every branch of his art. He then received the badge of the ſilver-

ſilver-harp; or that of a golden or ſilver chain, which he wore upon his ſhoulder. He alſo was placed with much ceremony on a magnificent chair, part of the *furnyture* mentioned in the patent; was there inveſted with his degree; and then acquired the honourable name of *Cadeirfardd*, or *Bardd cadeiriawg*.

In inſtrumental muſic there were five degrees; which differ nothing from thoſe in the other faculty, except in the two loweſt: 1. the *Dyſcybl yſpas heb râdd*, or without a degree; 2. *Dyſcybl yſpas graddawl*, or graduated; 3 *Dyſcybl dyſcyblaidd*; 4. *Dyſcybl penceirddiaidd*; 5. *Pencerdd*. Theſe, like the others, were to be attained by their reſpective merits in the ſcience; but as their qualifications are expreſſed in technical terms of *Britiſh* muſic, it is paſt any ſkill to give an explanation. None but a *Pencerdd* ſhould preſume to become an inſtructor. The chief of our days, is that uncommon genius, the blind Mr. JOHN PARRY of RHIWABON, who has had the kingdom for his *Cylch clera*, or muſical circuit, and remains unrivalled.

Our PENCERDDS thus qualified, were licenſed to ſing, or to perform under certain reſtrictions. By the law of our princes, particular regard was paid to their morals: 'They 'were to be no make-bates, no vagabonds, 'no ale-houſe haunters, no drunkards, no 'brawlers, no whore-hunters, no theeves, nor 'companions of ſuch; in which things, if 'they offend, everie man, by the ſtatute, is 'made an officer, and authorized to arreſt 'and puniſh them; yea, and to take from 'them all that they have about them.*'

* *Powel*, 192.

They

They were prohibited from uttering any ſcandalous words in ſpeech or whiſpers; detraction, mocking, ſcoffing, inventing lies, or repeating them after others, under pain of fine and impriſonment: nor were they to make a ſong of any perſon without his conſent; nor to enter any man's houſe without formal leave firſt obtained.

Every *Penbardd* and *Pencerdd* was allowed to take in diſciples for a certain ſpace of time, but not above one at a time. A diſciple was not qualified to make another. Each was to be with his teacher during *Lent*, unleſs prevented by ſickneſs or impriſonment, under pain of loſing his degree. He was obliged to ſhew every compoſition to his teacher before it was publickly ſung. They were not to follow the practice of *cler y dom*, i. e. dunghill bards and muſicians, or any other ſpecies of vagabond minſtrels. They were enjoined a month before each feſtival, to ſettle their routes with their reſpective teachers, leſt too many of them ſhould crowd to the ſame places; only one being allowed to go to a perſon who paid ten pounds a year rent; and two to ſuch who paid twenty pounds, and ſo on in proportion to thoſe of higher rank; and every teacher was obliged to keep a copy of theſe rules, to ſhew and inculcate to his pupils in time of *Lent*, when they came for their inſtructions.

No perſon was to mimic, mock, or ſcoff at the *awenyddion* on account of their mental abſence, or when they had on them the AWEN or *poeticus furor*; from an opinion that no bard, duly authorized, could ever meditate on improper ſubjects.

To whatſoever houſe they came in the time of wakes, they muſt remain there while the feaſting laſted; unleſs they had leave from the

the maſter of the houſe, or were invited by another. If they wandered from houſe to houſe, they were to be apprehended as ſtrollers and vagabonds, and to be deprived of their *clera**, which was forfeited to the uſe of the church. If they got intoxicated, they forfeited their reward: but if they violated the chaſtity of wife or maid, they were fined and impriſoned, and loſt their *clera* for ſeven years.

Their fees or rewards were regulated. *A dyſcybl dyſcyblaidd* was entitled to 3*s.* 4*d.* for his *cowydd.*

A DYSCYBL PENCEIRDDIAIDD, received for the ſame ſpecies of compoſition 6*s.* 9*d.*

His teacher, or the *Pencerdd*, had no more; only the maſter of the houſe uſually preſented him with a garment, or ſome other mark of his favour.

The minſtrels received theſe rewards; a *dyſcybl yſpas graddawl* had only 1*s.* upon each of the great feſtivals.

A DYSCYBL DYSCYBLAIDD, at the ſame ſeaſons 2s. and a *dyſcybl penceirddiaidd* 3*s.* 4*d.*

A PENCERDD the ſame, beſides a voluntary gratuity. He was alſo entitled to fees at royal and other weddings; and upon their *cylch clera*, which was permitted only once in three years. But beſides theſe fees, in order to encourage the *clerwyr* to keep up the language and the memory of the exploits and pedigrees of the *Britons*, they were allowed a penny out of every ploughland, and a halfpenny out of every half ploughland of their diſtrict.

* Or their pay. Sometimes it ſignifies the act of their perambulation.

The

The *Penbardd* and *Pencerdd*, in their circuits, frequented only the houſes of gentry; but if he degraded himſelf by viſiting the commonalty, he was only to expect the fee of a common *clerwr*, whoſe province it was to viſit the *plebeian* houſes. The following were the perſons who were allotted to entertain the vulgar ears.

A perſon labouring under any infirmity; ſuch as blindneſs, lameneſs, *&c.* a *dyſcybl yſpas*, a *dyſcybl dyſcyblaidd*, and *dyſcybl penceirddaidd*. The firſt regulation was founded on humanity.

No public feſtivity, great feaſt, or wedding could be duly ſolemnized without the preſence of the bards and minſtrels. A glorious emulation aroſe between them; and prizes were beſtowed on the moſt worthy. In 1176, the lord *Rhys* prince of *South Wales*, made a great feaſt * at *Chriſtmas*, on account of the finiſhing his new caſtle at *Aberteifi*; of which he proclaimed notice through all *Britain* a year and a day before; great was the reſort of ſtrangers, who were nobly entertained; ſo that none departed unſatisfied. Among deeds of arms, and variety of *ſpectacles*, RHYS invited all the bards of *Wales*, and provided *chairs* for them, which were placed in his hall, where they ſat and diſputed, and ſang, to ſhew their ſkill in their reſpective faculties, and beſtowed great rewards, and rich gifts on the victors. The bards of *North Wales* won the prizes; but the minſtrels of *Rhys*'s houſhold, excelled in their faculty. On this occaſion the *Brawdwr Llys*, or *judge of the court*, an officer fifth in rank, declared aloud the victor, and received from the bard, for his fee, a mighty drinking-horn,

* *Powel*, 237.

made of the horn of an ox; a golden ring, and the cuſhion on which he ſat in his chair of dignity.

The bards of thoſe times often accompanied their voices with the harp, as they were wont of old, in the manner deſcribed by *Ammianus Marcellinus*†. There was alſo another ſpecies of muſician, of an inferior kind, called *Datceiniad*, who accompanied the muſical inſtruments of others with his ſong. He was inferior to both bard and minſtrel; yet it was requiſite he ſhould be poſſeſſed of a conſiderable degree of knowledge in both ſciences: he ought to be able to tune the harp and *crwth*: to ſhew his ſkill in playing ſeveral notes and keys, and to be perfectly converſant in what are called the twenty-four meaſures of inſtrumental ſong; and to be able to ſing with judgment and melody. He was likewiſe to be maſter of reading juſtly, and writing correctly. He was not only to underſtand the twenty-four modes of metrical compoſitions; but to exhibit ſpecimens of his own, at leaſt in three of them; and if he met with any old ſong faultily tranſcribed, he was to rectify it. He was alſo to carry with him a harp or a *crwth* in a white caſe. He was further required, not only to be a ready waiter at table, but to be an expert carver of every ſpecies of fowl. At the weddings of any of the royal family, his office was to wait on the bride.

On thoſe occaſions, I am reminded of another cuſtom in which the bards were concerned. After their nuptial feaſt, a *Pencerd* was conſtituted CYFF CLÉR, or *pillar of the clêr*,

* *Leges Wallicæ*, 28. † Lib. xv. 9.

and

and ſeated in a chair ſurrounded by the other bards ſtanding, who made him the ſubject of their merry and ludicrous compoſitions, to raiſe mirth in the company. He was that day to make no reply; but on the next, he was to divert the hall at the expence of the inferior bards; and was alſo to compoſe a poem upon a ſubject given him ſuitable to his dignity.

Datceiniad. The moſt inferior of the muſical tribe was ſometimes admitted. This was the *Datceiniad pen paſtwn*, or he that ſung to the ſound of his club; being ignorant of any other kind of inſtrument. When he was permitted to be introduced, he was obliged to ſtand in the middle of the hall, and ſing his *cowydd* or *awdl*, beating time, and playing the ſymphony with his *paſtwn* or club; but if there was a profeſſor of muſic preſent, his leave muſt be firſt obtained before he preſumed to entertain the company with this ſpecies of melody. Whereever he came he muſt act as a menial ſervant to the bard or muſician*.

I ſhall conclude this account of the *Eiſteddfods* and my Tour, with the deſcription of the

* Several parts of this account are tranſlated from *Cambrobrytannicæ Cymraecæve Linguæ Inſtitutiones*; a very rare book, written by Doctor *John Davyyd Rhys* of *Llanfaethlu* in *Angleſey*, printed in 1592. He took his doctor's degree at *Sienna*; but was educated at *Oxford*. He returned to his own country, where he practiſed with great ſucceſs. At the requeſt of Sir *Edward Stradling*, of St. *Donats*, he compoſed this book. He tells us, he wrote the firſt part at Mr. *Morgan Meredydd*'s in *Radnorſhire*; the reſt at a place of his own in *Brecknockſhire*, as he ſays, at the age of ſeventy, and under the ſhade of a hawthorn grove. *Vide* his preface.

poetical

poetical genius of the *Welſh* by *Michael Drayton*†, who elegantly and faithfully records the various perſonages concerned in the entertainments.

'Mongſt whom, ſome there were bards, that in their ſacred rage
Recorded the deſcents and acts of every age.
Some with their nimble joints that ſtruck the warbling ſtring,
In fingering ſome unſkill'd, but us'd to ſing
To others harp; of which you both might find
Great plenty, and of both excelling in their kind,
That as the *Stethon* oft obtain'd a victor's praiſe;
Had won the ſilver harp, and worn *Apollo*'s bays:
Whoſe verſes they deduc'd from thoſe firſt golden times,
Of ſundry ſorts of feet, and ſundry ſuits of rhimes.
In *Englins* ſome there were, that in their ſubject ſtrain;
Some makers that again affect a loftier vein,
Rehearſe their high conceits in *cowyths*; other ſome
In *owdells* theirs expreſs, as matter haps to come.
So varying ſtill their moods, obſerving yet in all
Their quantities, their reſts, their meaſures metrical;
For, to that ſacred art they moſt themſelves apply;
Addicted from their birth to ſo much poeſy,
That in the mountains, thoſe who ſcarce have ſeen a book
Moſt ſkilfully will make, as though from art they took.

† POLY OLBION, ſong iv.

FINIS.

ADDITIONS.

ADDITIONS.

Page 25 Basing-werk Abbey.

IN an out houſe is lodged a ſtone with the following inſcription.

IESUS * ✠ * MARIA.

HERE . LYETH . TH . Y . BODY . OF . GEORGE . PE-

TRE . LATE . OF . GREENFIELD . IN . FLINT

SHIRE, ESQ. SONE TO . W . LORD . PETRE

BARON . OF . INGLESTON . IN . ESSEX .

MARRIED ANE . Ye . RELICT . OF . IOHN

MOSTOIN . ESQ . BEING . Ye . DAUGHTER

OF . HENRY . FOX . ESQ . WHO . FOR . Ye . RO-

MANE . CATHOLIQE . FAITH . & . LOYAL-

TIE

TY. TO . HIS . MA . LEFT . HIS . COUNTRY.

& . SPENDING . HIS . TIME . Tw . GREAT

EDIFICATION . OF . HIS * NEIGHBOVRS.

DIED . AT . WEXFORD Ye 26 DAY OF SEP.

AN . DO 1647 AGED 34.

The

The following order, for putting the chapel over the well into poſſeſſion of a clergyman of the church of *Rome*, was addreſſed to Sir *Roger Moſtyn* baronet, by the queen of *James* II. P. 30. Holywell.

Sir ROGER MOSTYN.

It having pleaſed the king, by his royall grant, to beſtow upon me ye antient chappell adjoining to St. *Winifride*'s well; theſe are to deſire you to give preſent poſſeſſion, in my name, of the ſaid chappell, to Mr. *Thomas Roberts*, who will deliver this letter into y^r^ hands. It being alſo my intention to have the place decently repaired, and put to a good uſe, I further deſire, that you will affoard him your favour and protection, that he may not be diſturbed in the performance thereof. You may reſt aſſured, that what you do herein, according to my deſire, ſhall be very kindly remembered by.

MAY ye 8th, 1687. Your good friend,
WHITEHALL, MARY REGINA.

ROBERT DAVIES Eſq; of *Llannerch*, by deed, dated *October* 10th, 1626, gave the advowſon of *Holywell* to JESUS *College Oxford*; that is to ſay, as often as the vicarage ſhall become vacant, the ſaid *Robert Davies* and his heirs, ſhall freely and *charitatis intuitu, et abſque aliqua moroſa cunctatione*, preſent a native of *Wales*, rightfully and canonically nominated by the college.

Near GADLYS ſmelting works is a lofty round mount, flat at top. On this had probably been a caſtelet, the reſidence of ſome of P. 85. Gadlys.

our princes; which gave rise to the name GADLY's *Palatium Castrense*. This may, perhaps, be a better reason than that which I assign; notwithstanding, I believe it to be the spot occupied by *Henry*.

P. 43. Flint. That *Edward* I. enlarged the castle of *Flint* greatly, and that *Henry* II. was only the founder of a small fortress on that spot, is evident from these complaints of the *Welsh* in 1281: 'That the noble and best of the countrie be 'injured; for that the king builded the cas-'tell of *Flynt* upon their ground; and the 'king commanded the justices to give the 'men as much and as good ground, or the 'price: but they are spoiled of their lands, 'and have neither other lands nor monie.'

Powel, 361.

About a mile above *Flint* is another great mount of the same kind, called *Bryn y cwn*.

P. 87. Eulo. Eulo was reckoned an appertenance to *Montalto* or *Mold*. MS. notes to a copy of *Powel's* history of *Wales*, lent by *Edward Lloyd* Esq; of *Pengwern*.

P. 232. Ellesmere Was burnt by *Llewelyn* after king *John* had divested him of it.

A remarkable circumstance, which put a stop to much cruelty exercised by ordonnance of parliament against the native *Irish*, who served in *England* in the royal army during the civil wars, happened at this place. Prince *Rupert*, in one of his marches across this country, halted at *Ellesmere*, and determined, by retaliation, to revenge the deaths of the *Irish* sufferers; thirteen

teen of that kingdom had lately been executed by the parliament army in cool blood. Here the prince ordered the priſoners whom he had in poſſeſſion, to caſt lots for their lives on the drum head; and the thirteen on whom the fatal deſtiny fell, to be hanged. The die was caſt, and the unfortunate men ſelected. While prepratiaon was making for their execution, one of them *(Philip Littleton)* who had been park-keeper to *Robert Corbet* Eſq; of *Stanwardine*, ſaw Sir *Vincent Corbet* of *Moreton Corbet* ride by, who was in the prince's army. *Littleton* told a ſoldier, that he was ſure if Sir *Vincent* knew he was there, he would intercede for him. The ſoldier, with great humanity, ran to the knight, and imformed him of the caſe; who immediately obtained his pardon. The reſt were executed, and after this, no more *Iriſh* were put to death in this kingdom.

Communicated from a MS. by the reverend Mr. *Edwards*.

The *Kynaſtons* are of *Welſh* deſcent, derived from *Bleddyn ap Cynvyn* prince of *Powis*. *Fadoc*, ſon of *Philip ap Gryffydd*, was the firſt who took the name of *Kynaſton*. P. 234. Ottley.

They became maſters of *Ottley* or *Ockle*, as it has been ſome time written, by the marriage of *Humphrey Kynaſton* Eſq; of *Stokes*, with *Elivabeth*, daughter and heireſs of *Richard Ottley* of this place. He was grandfather to Sir *Francis*, mentioned p. 234.

SALUSBURY Pedigree.

This celebrated book is in the poſſeſſion of Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn*, who favoured me with the loan of it. It contains the pedigrees of all the gentlemen in *North Wales*, and of ſome adjacent counties, with their arms finely

illuminated. It was compiled by *John Salusbury* Esq; of *Erbistock*, who lived about the middle of the last century, and appears to have executed it with great accuracy.

P. 258. Oswestry. Was garrisoned for the king in the beginning of the civil wars. The governor fortified it very strongly; and, lest the enemy should annoy the place from the tower steeple, pulled it down to the body of the church, part of which he also demolished. It was besieged by general *Mytton*, who placed his cannon against the new gate, which he soon demolished. A bold and daring young man, named *George Cranage*, went with his hatchet, and cut down the chains of the draw-bridge. The parliament forces then entered, and obliged the royalists to retire into the castle. *Cranage* was then perswaded to hang a *buttar (petard)* at the castle gate. After being well animated with sack, he undertook this desperate attempt: crept with the engine from house to house, till he got that next to the castle; fastened it to the gate, set fire to it, and escaped unhurt. The gate was burst open, and the place taken. Mr. *Edwards*'s MSS.

In *July* 1644, *Oswestry* was besieged by the king's forces under colonel *Marrow*. Sir *Thomas Middleton* relieved the place; took 200 common soldiers, 7 carriages, and 100 horse. *Whitelock*, 94.

After the death of the king, this fortress was totally demolished.

From

From *Chirk*, I made an excurſion to *Brynkinallt*, about a mile below the village. This had been the ſeat of the *Trevors*, deſcended from *Ednyved Gam*, a deſcendant of *Tudor Trevor*. P. 270. Brynkinallt.

The houſe is of brick, built in 1619. In it is a good portrait of Sir *John Trevor*, maſter of the rolls, in the robes of his office, ſitting. He enjoyed that place both in the reign of *James* II. and of *William* III. He was able, dextrous, and enterprizing; and in the reign of the firſt, had the diſgraceful compliment paid to him of being the deſigned ſucceſſor in the chancellorſhip to *Jefferies*, in caſe it was poſſible that the laſt could have been affected with any ſcruples. King *William* found it neceſſary to make uſe of *Trevor*, who was made firſt lord commiſſioner of the great ſeal, and privy counſellor. He had been ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in each reign. In that of *William*, he is recorded to have been the firſt who managed a party by buying of votes, for which purpoſe he was intruſted with money by the court; but in 1694-5, was expelled the houſe for receiving a bribe of a thouſand guineas from the city of *London*, in order to expedite the paſſing of the *Orphan* bill, which had long ſtuck in the houſe, and which he ought to have done from the ſole motive of juſtice and compaſſion. The commons deſigned to have proceeded againſt him by impeachment; but the affair dropt by the prorogation of parliament.

By

By the marriage of his daughter *Anne*, in 1690, to *Michael Hill* Esq; this place passed into this family; and is now possessed by *Arthur* lord *Dungannon* of the kingdom of *Ireland*, descended from *Arthur Hill* Esq; second son of that match.

P. 273. Chirk Castle. In *February* 1645-6, colonel *Watts* governor of the castle, delivered it, furnished with bread and beer, to Sir *Thomas Middleton*'s daughter for her father's use; but first raised contributions on the neighbourhood. He then marched towards the king, at that time at *Welsh Pool*; but was surprised by the country people, and his waggons taken. *Mostyn MSS.*

P. 274. Paragraph fourth. It is singular that the antient *Britons* should make so light of the crime intended, when one nation of our *Celtic* ancestors, the *Germans*, inflicted the most cruel punishment on the female offenders at least. *Tacitus de Mor. Germ.*

P. 278. Llangollen. EDWARD I. by charter to *Roger Mortimer* dated *July* 16th, 1684, grants a market every *Sunday* to his manor of *Llangollen*, and two fairs annually. Both were to continue three days: the first began on the eve of St. *Dunstan*; the other on that of St. *Martin*, in the winter. This charter was witnessed by bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*; *Henry de Lacy*, earl of *Lincoln*; *Richard de Burgh*, earl of *Ulster*; *Reginald de Grey*; *John de Montaltr*; and others.

Communicated by *Paul Panton* Esq;

P. 290. Garthen.

I beg leave to correct a ſmall error reſpecting the ſite of this poſt; it not being between *Offa*'s and *Wat*'s dikes; but about two hundred yards to the outſide of the former.

P. 291. Wrexham

Called antiently *Wrighteſham*, and *Wrightele-ſham*.

INDEX.

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INDEX.

INDEX.

A

Page

ACTON houſe 296
Ad Dietam 162
Agricla Bwlch 388
Album monaſterium 249
Alfred beſieges the *Danes* in *Cheſter* 119
Amobr, what 221
Angleſea, men fined for being concerned with *Glyndwr* 357
Antiquities, *Roman*, found near *Flint* 67
Arenaria ſaxatilis 19
Aſſach, what 364
Aſſaſſination in *Cheſter* cathedral 181
Aſſaſſins, determined reſolution of 276
Atiſcroſs hundred, part of *Flintſhire* 6, 50

B

Balderton bridge, *Welſh* defeated at 105
Bangor, famous ſeminary 222
Bangor, monks of, ſtrenuous oppoſers of the church of *Rome* 224
curious coffin-lids at ibid.

Page

Baſingwerk caſtle 22
abby 24
epitaph there on a *Petre*. 448
Battle of *Cheſter* 118
Coleſhill 85
Eulo ibid.
Crogen 268
Biſhopric of *Cheſter* 172
Bettisfield 219
Bodidin houſe 379
Bordarii, what 6
Bovium 224
Brân, *Caſtell Dinas* 279
Braſs made by the *Britons* 62
works of, imported in queen *Elizabeth*'s time 78
Britiſh poſts 413
Broadlane, ſeat of the *Glynnes* 101
fine portraits there ibid.
Broughton, near *Hawarden* 104
in *Maelor* 216
Brutus the elder, fine buſt of 10
Bryn y pys 229
Bryn Yorkin 406
Bwlch y Rhiw Velen 376

Bychton

Page

Bychton 14
Byſſus Jolothus 38

C

Caer Ogyrfan 258
Caergwrle 402
caſtle 404
Calamine, the *cadmia* of the antients 63
its uſe forgot for many centuries ibid
Cangi 4
Carreg Carn March Arthur 390
Caryocatactes, a bird 20
Caſtell Brogyntyn 262
Ceangi 4
Ceiriog brook 267
Charles VII. of *France*, his alliance with *Glyndwr* 341
Cheeſe making, its antiquity 117, 129
Chert 18
Cheſter, not *Britiſh* 106
ſtation of the *Legio* XX. victrix. *Colonia Devana* 107
excavated ſtreets 108
great vaults, loſt 109
Roman gate 110
hypocauſt 111
other antiquities, altars, &c. 113
Saxon, ſtate of 118
battle of, ibid.

Page

Cheſter, *Danes*, winter there 119
guild mercatory 127
trade in *Saxon* times 128
in the *Norman* 132
its *Whitſon* plays 137
beſieged 148
Cheſter bridge and bridge-gate 150
mills 151, 153
water-works 153
wall's ibid.
water-tower 156
eaſt-gate 157
caſtle 158
jail 161
charters 164
prætorium 168
abby 174
chapter-houſe 177
cathedral 179
St. *John*'s 187
preſent trade 196
quays 197
canal 199
given up by Col. *Watts* 454
C'wydian hills 411
Coal known to the *Britons* 17
Coed Eulo, battle there 85
Coleſhill 40
battle near 85
Collieries 15
Copper 62
Roman cake of 11, 63
Condolanus, where ſlain 238

Page

Coracles 225
Crogen caſtle 240

D

Damps in mines 423
Datceiniad PenPaſtwn 446
David, prince, ſurprizes *Hawarden* 92
put to death by *Edward* I. ibid.
Davies, Edward, the *Cneifiwr glâs* 375
Deva, Devana 107
Dietam ad, what 162
Dinoth St. 222
Domitian, his name on a pig of lead 57

E

Earls of *Cheſter*, their antient dignity nearly regal 125
hold a parliament ibid.
Eaton, in *Cheſhire* 202
Eccleſton 201
Edgar lays up his fleet at *Cheſter* 123
rowed up the *Dee* by ſix petty kings ibid
Edwin, earl of *Cheſter* 123
owns *Flintſhire* at the conqueſt 7
Eiſteddfod 427
Eleven towns 257
Eliſeg, pillar of 373
Elleſmere 230
remarkable event there 450
Emral hall 220
Engleſield 7

Page

Erbiſtock 215
Erddig houſe 291
Ethelfleda the heroic, her hiſtory 120
Eulo caſtle 84
battle near, 85
potteries, at 87
an appertenance to *Mold* 450
Eurgen, St. 83
Exchequer in *Cheſter* 162
Exploſion, dreadful, at *Cheſter* 170
Eyton in *Denbighſhire* 226
Eyton, John ap Ellis, his tomb 286

F

Falcon, long flight of one 8
Farn 203
Feſta aſinaria 143
Fire-brick 87
Fitz-alans, earls of *Arundel* 252
Fitz-warine, a valiant family 239
Flint town 41
caſtle 42
a *Roman* ſtation ibid.
antiquities found near 50, 67
complaint of the men of 450
Flintſhire 2
by whom ſubdued 5
revenues of the county in the time of *Edward* III. 49

Fwyall,

Page
Fwyall, Sir *Howel y*, his grant of *Cheſter* mills 151
Ffynnon Leinw 412

G

Gadlys 85
Gam David, an account of 335
when releaſed 362
Galanas, a *Welſh* mulct 274
Garreg, fine view from 13
Garthen, the, a *Britiſh* poſt 290
a miſtake of it rectified 455
Gelli chapel 13
Germanus St. 380, 389
Geſtes of *Guarine* 244
Gherbod earl of *Cheſter* 124
Glaſs, *Roman* 68
Gliſſeg rocks 301
valley 375
Glyndwr, *Owen*, his hiſtory 302 to 369
his priſon 362
Glynne, chief juſtice, his portrait and character 101
Gobowen 259
Goch Jolo, *Glyndwr*'s bard 304
Gold found in *Britain* 64
a temptation to the *Roman* invaſion ibid.
the *Britons* early acquainted with its uſes 66
Greyhound, ſingular ſtory of one 47
Gresford 298
Page
Grey Reginald, lord, oppreſſes *Glyndwr* 309
Groſvenour, vaſt mineral grant to the family 74
Gryffydd ap Madog, his treaſon 280
murder of his children by earl *Warren* 210, 280
Guarine, founder of the *Fitzwarrens* 239
Gwernhailed 228
Gwerth 274
Gwynedd Howel, beheaded on *Moel y Gaer* 83
Gwynedd, *Owen* defeats *Henry* II. at *Coleſhill* 85
his ſons defeat the flower of *Henry*'s army ibid.
Gwyſaney 393
Gyrys the firſt collector of *Welſh* proverbs 388

H

Halkin, fine view from 73
church 81
Halſton 234
Hanbridge 106
Hanmer 217
Sir *Jenkin*, ſlain at the battle of *Shrewſbury* 339
Harp, ſilver 11
Hartſheath 401
Hawarden caſtle, *Saxon* owner 89
German 90
lyded to *Llewein* the great 91
ſurprized

Page
surprized by *David ap Gryffydd* 92
granted to *Montacute* earl of *Salisbury* 93
to Sir *John Stanley* 94
acquired by chief justice *Glynne* 95
besieged 96
Hawarden rectory, great 101
Henry VII. protected at *Mostyn* 9
Hêg Ddinas 258
Henry prince of *Wales*, his early valour, *passim* in the account of *Glyndwr*
Hespalnn 410
Hilbree isle 19
Holt 204, 211
Holywell 38
castle ibid.
stream its greatness and utility 39
Hope 406
Hotspur joins with *Glyndwr* 334.
slain 339

I

Jefferies, lord chancellor, his portrait, and history 296
Sir *Thomas*, his portrait ibid.
Interment, antient mode of 381 to 388
Jolo Goch, a bard of *Glyndwr* 305
Ithyphallus, an amulet 71
Iron mines, *Roman* 64
Jungermannia, a moss 37

K

Kilken 411
Kymhorthau, what 366
Kynastons, their descent 451

L

Latimer, or interpreter between the *Welsh* and *English* 241
Lead, antient state of its mines, &c. 51
Roman pigs of 55
Roman regulations in respect to mining 51, 57
silver extracted from it by the *Romans* 58
lead, how smelted by the *Britons* ibid.
mines worked by the *Saxons* ibid.
Leeswood 399
Llanarmon 380
Llandysilio 301
Llangegla 378
Llangollen 278
its bridge 279
Llanverres 389
Lleuci Lwyd, her story 85
Llowarch Hên 376
Llwyd, Gryffydd, chief bard to *Glyndwr* 310
Llys Edwin 82
Lupus, Hugh, earl of *Chester* 124
his hall in *Chester* castle

Page
castle 159
Lyrewyte 222

M

Maelor Saesneg 215
Maesgarmon 408
Maen achwynfan, an antient cross 12
March, earl of, an attempt to steal away 344
Marcheta mulierum 221
Maserfield 247
Merton 6
grievances of the inhabitants in *Edward* I. time 14
Middletons of *Chirk-castle* 271
Mineral property in the time of *Edward* I. 75
Henry VI. ibid.
Edward IV. and *Henry* VII. 77
Elizabeth ibid.
not secured to the subject till the Revolution 80, 81
Mineral tract 416
Mines in *Wales*, what 213
Mines royal, society for, when founded 78
Mining, *Roman*, state of 51
Moel Venlli 389
Moel Famma 410
Moel y Gaer, a British post above *Northop* 83
Mold 390 to 398
Mortimer, Sir *Edmund*, taken by *Glyndwr* 329
Moss, sweet, in St. *Winefrede*'s well 37
Mostyn 8
singular portrait at 10
Mysteries and moralities, the old religious *Drama* 138
Mythras, statue of 116
Myfanwy Vechan, an ode to 281
Mytton, Mr. *William*, his MSS. 236

N

Names, when first abridged in *Wales* 12
Nannerel 415
Nant y Bele, romantic view from 288
Noah, the mystery of a curious performance at *Chester* 140
Northop 83

O

Offa's dike 259
Oldford 203
Ordovices 1, 3
Oswald, St. his history 246
Oswestry 246
church and monastery 248, 251
castle 252
taken in the civil wars of *Charles* I. 452
old 258
Owl little, the true *Athenian* 229
Overton 226
Owen, Sir *John*, his history 263
epitaph 266

INDEX.

Page

P

Parfew, biſhop of St. *Aſaph* 393
Pelagius, a monk of *Bangor* 223
Pen y Llwch, or *Hawarden* 89
Penbedw 412
Pengwern 278
Perry river 235
Pick-axes, antient 53
Pier on the *Dee* at *Wepre* 88
Plague at *Cheſter* 147, 150
Plâs-têg 401
Poem to *Owen Glyndwr* 311
Myfanwy Vechan 281
Porkington 262
Poſts, *Britiſh*, on the ſummits of the hills 83
their uſes ibid.
Poſts, *Britiſh* 413
Powyſland, brief account of 206 to 210
Puleſtons 220
Putecaine 6

R

Radman, what 41
Richard II. taken at *Flint* 45
Robert of *Sicily*, a play acted at *Cheſter* 136
Rod, divining 53
Rood eye at *Cheſter* 190
Roſts, the, a *Britiſh* poſt 300
Royal mine, what 80, 81

Page

S

Sacheverel, Doctor 267
Saltney marſh, granted to the monks of *Baſingwerk* 105
Saluſbury pedigree-book 451
Sandford, captain, his curious letter 98
Sele, *Howel*, account of 344
Sellatyn 262
church 266
Seteia eſtuarium 2
Shartar Gwtta 253
Shocklach 214
Shropſhire 229
Sicily, king *Robert* of, an antient morality 136
Silver, *Britiſh*, known to the *Romans* 66
Smelting, *Britiſh*, 58
Roman 51—55
Stanlies, their property in *Flintſhire* 82, 87
Stews, public, at *Cheſter* 145
Stratalun 390
Stylus found near *Flint* 71
Sweating ſickneſs at *Cheſter* 135
Sycharth, the ſeat of *Owen Glyndwr* 306

T

Tecla, St. her well 379
Tegengl 4
Threapwood 217

Tin

Page

Tin early exported by the *Phœnicians* 60
worked by the *Romans* 61, 62
Tombs at *Northop* 84
at *Chirk* 269
Rhiwabon 284
Wrexham 292
Gresford 300
Hope 407
Mold 393
Llanarmon 380
Tommen y Rhadwydd 377
Tower, remarkable event at 399
Tranſmutation of metals, antient opinion of 75
Trevalun 300
Tudor Trevor 238, 278
Tyſilio, St. 301

V

Valle Crucis 369
abby ibid.
Victoria Alleluiatica 408
Virgula divinatoria 53
Vitilia Navigia 225
Vulture, a new ſpecies 228

W

Walcheria 257
Warner, lady, her ſtory 219
Warton, biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, vide PARFEW.
Wat's dike 21, 259
Wedge, *Roman*, found in a lead mine 53
Wenefrede, St. her well 28
life 31
chapel, order relating to 449
Wepre 88
Werburgh, St. her ſhrine 181
Weregeld 273
Whiff, a ſpecies of flounder 244
Whiteford, Widford 6
its products 15
Whiteminſter 249
Whitſon plays acted at *Cheſter* 137
Whittington 237
caſtle 244
church 245
Wrexham 291
Woburyhill, a ſuppoſed camp of *Glyndwr* 351
wooden caſtle 377
Wynn-ſtay, houſe 288
Wynn, Sir *Watkins Williams*, his epitaph 287
Wynn, Sir *Richard*, his portrait 289
Wynne, rev. doctor, his epitaph 394

Y

Ynyr ap Howel, &c. 379
Yonge, *Gryffydd*, *Glyndwr*'s chancellor and embaſſador to *France* 342
Younge, *Richard*, biſhop of *Bangor* 226

7 NOGI

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